

*Language decline and death in three
Arbëresh communities in Italy.
A sociolinguistic study*

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the problems of language shift on the example of Arbëresh, spoken by groups of Albanians who have migrated to the South of Italy in different waves since the 15th century. Three Arbëresh speaking communities - Campomarino, Portocannone and Ururi - form the focus of the sociolinguistic study, aiming to give a picture of the vitality Arbëresh. It was analysed from the perspective of the Arbëresh speakers' competence and their attitudes towards Arbëresh.

From the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data collected, an overwhelming decline of Arbëresh can be observed. This decline has nearly reached its final stage in Campomarino; in the other two villages, a proficiency continuum emerges, where the relation between the Arbëresh speakers and their competence and use is determined by their age: competence and use increase together with the speakers' age.

Some elements of revitalization can be found in the linguistic minorities' status under the recent Italian law 482/1999. According to the law, the language of the minority groups can be used in formal domains and in schools. However, what creates a problem for the Arbëresh people is that it is standard Albanian which is to be introduced in their communities. The introduction of standard Albanian seems to endanger a very precarious balance among the Arbëresh people and the "new" Albanians immigrants, who are tainted with the stigma of crime throughout Italy. This situation has caused changes in the Arbëresh speakers' attitudes towards the use of Arbëresh and standard Albanian.

From the results of the sociolinguistic survey, it emerges that these changes in the speakers' attitudes can be observed in Portocannone and Ururi too. Here the Arbëresh speech communities' negative attitude towards both Albanian and Arbëresh interfere and prevent any form of protection based upon the law. In Campomarino, the stigma attached to Albanians has reinforced an already strong negative attitude towards the use of Arbëresh. The situation is so dramatic and irreparable that no form of maintenance would be likely to produce any "positive" shift.

These results are applied in both a theoretical and a practical dimension:

- Theoretically they confirm that minority language maintenance is associated with elderly, rural areas, and primary sector employment;
- They shed light on three theoretical issues:
 1. The factors that make it predictable that the language will disappear as a family language;
 2. The adequacy of existing models of language decline and death;
 3. The limited role of government language policy in minority languages maintenance;
- Practically, suggestions about the possible implementation of Law 482/1999 are proposed, in the light of the Arbëresh speakers' counter tendency to the revitalization trend present throughout Europe.

Contents

INTRODUCTION.....	12
<i>Focus of the thesis.....</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Outline of the thesis</i>	<i>13</i>
SECTION I. THE ARBËRESH	19
CHAPTER I.1. ARBËRESH PRESENCE IN ITALY	20
I.1.1. <i>The migrations to Italy.....</i>	<i>20</i>
I.1.2. <i>The settlement in Italy.....</i>	<i>22</i>
I.1.2.1. Dislocations in Italy	22
I.1.2.2. Italy as their new mother country	24
CHAPTER I.2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF THE ARBËRESH COMMUNITIES	25
I.2.1. <i>Albanian language.....</i>	<i>25</i>
I.2.2. <i>Arbëresh language.....</i>	<i>27</i>
I.2.3. <i>Standard Albanian and Arbëresh.....</i>	<i>28</i>
I.2.3.1. Standard Albanian vs Arbëresh: phonology	28
I.2.3.2. Standard Albanian vs Arbëresh: grammar	30
I.2.3.3. Standard Albanian vs Arbëresh: lexicon.....	32
I.2.4. <i>Numbers of Arbëresh people in Italy.....</i>	<i>33</i>
I.2.5. <i>The Arbëresh communities in Italy.....</i>	<i>34</i>
I.2.5.1. From the unification of Italy to the post-World War II period.....	34
I.2.5.2. A renewed scientific interest: the second half of the 19 th century.	36
CHAPTER I.3. ITALIAN LINGUISTIC POLICY.....	38
I.3.1. <i>European context.....</i>	<i>38</i>
I.3.2. <i>Law 482/1999.....</i>	<i>40</i>
I.3.2.1. General overview	40
I.3.2.2. The content.....	40
I.3.3. <i>Reasons for a critical position.....</i>	<i>41</i>
I.3.3.1. Standard Albanian vs local varieties of Arbëresh.....	41
CHAPTER I.4. ARBËRESH COMMUNITIES IN MOLISE.....	44
I.4.1. <i>Arbëresh arrival in Molise.....</i>	<i>44</i>
I.4.2. <i>The Arbëresh enclaves in Molise</i>	<i>45</i>
I.4.3. <i>The research areas.....</i>	<i>45</i>
I.4.3.1. Numbers of Arbëresh people	46
I.4.3.2. Geographical and economical information.....	46
I.4.3.3. Arbëresh life until 1997	47
I.4.3.4. Current situation.....	49
SECTION II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	52
CHAPTER II.1. LANGUAGE DEATH.....	53
II.1.1. <i>The research area</i>	<i>53</i>
II.1.2. <i>A model of language death</i>	<i>55</i>
II.1.3. <i>Case studies: East Sutherland Gaelic, Arvanitika and Hungarian ...</i>	<i>58</i>

II.1.3.1.	Introduction.....	58
II.1.3.2.	The life of East Sutherland Gaelic.....	59
II.1.3.3.	Arvanítika and the language death process	62
II.1.3.4.	Hungarian in Eastern Austria.....	64
II.1.4.	<i>Discussion</i>	66
CHAPTER II.2.	THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF MINORITIES	68
II.2.1.	<i>Social identity theory</i>	68
II.2.1.1.	General overview.....	68
II.2.1.2.	Individual mobility and group assimilation: linguistic strategy	69
II.2.2.	<i>Self-categorization theory</i>	71
II.2.2.1.	Social categorization and social identity	71
II.2.2.2.	The concept of prototypicality	73
II.2.3.	<i>Nation-building. Minorities and identities</i>	76
II.2.3.1.	Nation-building and language.....	76
II.2.3.2.	Minority groups and identity	78
II.2.4.	<i>Bourdieu and groups' behaviour</i>	79
II.2.4.1.	The concept of <i>habitus</i>	79
II.2.4.2.	Three forms of capital.....	80
II.2.4.2.1.	Cultural capital.....	81
II.2.4.3.	Which cultural capital?.....	82
II.2.5.	<i>Smolicz and the core values</i>	82
II.2.6.	<i>Foreshadowing relevance</i>	84
CHAPTER II.3.	LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION AND SHIFT REVERSAL.....	86
II.3.1.	<i>What should be done?</i>	86
II.3.2.	<i>Description of the field of study</i>	87
II.3.2.1.	Reversing language shift.....	88
II.3.2.2.	Language revitalization	90
II.3.3.	<i>Bottom-up vs top-down strategies</i>	91
II.3.4.	<i>Foreshadowing relevance</i>	94
SECTION III.	SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY	96
CHAPTER III.1.	PILOT STUDY.....	97
III.1.1.	<i>Aims</i>	97
III.1.2.	<i>Hypothesis</i>	97
III.1.3.	<i>Methodology</i>	97
III.1.3.1.	Sample	97
III.1.3.2.	Subjects and procedure	99
III.1.4.	<i>Data analysis</i>	99
III.1.4.1.	Procedure	99
III.1.4.2.	Campomarino	100
III.1.4.3.	Portocannone	101
III.1.4.4.	Ururi.....	103
III.1.4.5.	Results: a comparison.....	104
III.1.5.	<i>Discussion</i>	105
CHAPTER III.2.	MAIN STUDY	106
III.2.1.	<i>Scope of the study</i>	106
III.2.1.1.	Arbëresh vitality	106
III.2.1.2.	Arbëresh communities' attitudes towards Arbëresh language	107

III.2.1.3.	Arbëresh communities and standard Albanian	107
III.2.2.	<i>Research questions</i>	107
III.2.3.	<i>The Hypotheses</i>	108
III.2.4.	<i>Methodology</i>	109
III.2.4.1.	Sampling	109
III.2.4.2.	Subjects	110
III.2.4.3.	The Questionnaire	111
III.2.4.3.1.	Questionnaire 0	112
III.2.4.3.2.	Questionnaire I	112
III.2.4.3.3.	Questionnaire II	112
III.2.5.	<i>Data analysis procedure</i>	113
III.2.5.1.	Arbëresh vitality	113
III.2.5.2.	Attitudes towards Arbëresh and standard Albanian	116
CHAPTER III.3.	CAMPOMARINO RESULTS	117
III.3.1.	<i>Competence in Arbëresh</i>	117
III.3.2.	<i>Arbëresh community's attitudes towards Arbëresh language and standard Albanian</i>	120
III.3.2.1.	Arbëresh transmission	120
III.3.2.1.1.	Discussion	123
III.3.2.2.	The most important language	124
III.3.2.3.	Satisfaction and desire	124
III.3.2.4.	Standard Albanian in schools	125
III.3.2.5.	Language spoken in the community	127
III.3.3.	<i>Summary</i>	127
CHAPTER III.4.	PORTOCANNONE RESULTS	129
III.4.1.	<i>Competence in Arbëresh</i>	129
III.4.2.	<i>Language choice: Italian vs Arbëresh</i>	133
III.4.2.1.	The four skills	134
III.4.2.2.	The family	138
III.4.2.2.1.	Parents	139
III.4.2.2.2.	Siblings	139
III.4.2.2.3.	Grandparents	140
III.4.2.3.	The school	140
III.4.2.3.1.	Teacher	140
III.4.2.3.2.	Schoolmates	141
III.4.2.4.	Friends	142
III.4.2.4.1.	Friends from 3 to 5	142
III.4.2.4.2.	Friends from 6 to 10	142
III.4.2.4.3.	Friends from 11 to 13	143
III.4.2.4.4.	Friends from 14 to 18	143
III.4.2.4.5.	Friends from 19 to 39	144
III.4.2.4.6.	Friends from 40 to 69	144
III.4.2.4.7.	Friends of 70 or over	145
III.4.2.5.	Topics	145
III.4.2.6.	Language for non-communicative purposes	147
III.4.3.	<i>Arbëresh community's attitudes towards Arbëresh language and standard Albanian</i>	148
III.4.3.1.	Arbëresh transmission	148

III.4.3.1.1. Discussion.....	157
III.4.3.2. The most important language	158
III.4.3.3. Satisfaction and desire	162
III.4.3.4. Standard Albanian in schools	168
III.4.3.5. Language spoken in the community	171
III.4.4. Summary	174
CHAPTER III.5. URURI RESULTS	176
III.5.1. Competence in Arbëresh.....	176
III.5.2. Language choice: Italian vs Arbëresh.....	180
III.5.2.1. The four skills.....	180
III.5.2.2. The family.....	186
III.5.2.2.1. Parents.....	186
III.5.2.2.2. Siblings	186
III.5.2.2.3. Grandparents.....	187
III.5.2.3. The school.....	188
III.5.2.3.1. Teacher	188
III.5.2.3.2. Schoolmates.....	188
III.5.2.4. Friends	189
III.5.2.4.1. Friends from 3 to 5	189
III.5.2.4.2. Friends from 6 to 10	189
III.5.2.4.3. Friends from 11 to 13	190
III.5.2.4.4. Friends from 14 to 18	190
III.5.2.4.5. Friends from 19 to 39	191
III.5.2.4.6. Friends from 40 to 69	191
III.5.2.4.7. Friends of 70 or over.....	192
III.5.2.5. Topics	192
III.5.2.6. Language for non-communicative purposes.....	194
III.5.3. Arbëresh community's attitudes towards Arbëresh language and standard Albanian	195
III.5.3.1. Arbëresh transmission	195
III.5.3.1.1. Discussion.....	205
III.5.3.2. The most important language	205
III.5.3.3. Satisfaction and desire	210
III.5.3.4. Standard Albanian in schools	215
III.5.3.5. Language spoken in the community	220
III.5.4. Summary	221
SECTION IV. CONCLUSION	223
CHAPTER IV.1. ARBËRESH VITALITY IN MOLISE	224
IV.1.1. Portocannone and Ururi.....	224
IV.1.1.1. Competence in Arbëresh.....	224
IV.1.1.1.1. Comparison of the data about Arbëresh vitality	224
IV.1.1.1.2. Correlated variables.....	225
IV.1.1.2. Use of Arbëresh	226
IV.1.1.2.1. Arbëresh basic skills.....	226
IV.1.1.2.2. Language choice: Arbëresh vs Italian	227
IV.1.2. Campomarino	229
IV.1.2.1. Competence in Arbëresh.....	230

IV.1.2.1.1. Comparison of the data about Arbëresh vitality	230
CHAPTER IV.2. ATTITUDES	231
IV.2.1. <i>Portocannone and Ururi</i>	231
IV.2.1.1. Attitudes towards Arbëresh	231
IV.2.1.2. Attitudes towards Arbëresh of other communities	232
IV.2.1.3. Attitudes towards Albanians and Albanian	233
IV.2.1.3.1. The modern Albanian migration wave	234
IV.2.1.4. Impact on their identity	237
IV.2.2. <i>Campomarino</i>	240
IV.2.2.1. Attitudes towards Arbëresh	240
IV.2.2.2. Attitudes towards Albanians and Albanian	241
CHAPTER IV.3. LANGUAGE DEATH AND SHIFT REVERSAL	242
IV.3.1. <i>Portocannone and Ururi</i>	242
IV.3.1.1. Language policy.....	242
IV.3.2. <i>Campomarino</i>	243
IV.3.2.1. Language policy.....	243
IV.3.3. <i>Top-down vs bottom-up strategies</i>	243
IV.3.4. <i>Final Discussion</i>	244
REFERENCES	246
APPENDIX 1.....	273
- LAW 482/1999 : <i>NORME IN MATERIA DI TUTELA DELLE MINORANZE LINGUISTICHE STORICHE</i>	274
- PRESIDENTIAL DECREE 345: <i>REGOLAMENTO DI ATTUAZIONE DELLA LEGGE 482/1999</i>	282
- REGIONAL LAW 15/1997: <i>TUTELA E VALORIZZAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE DELLE MINORANZE LINGUISTICHE NEL MOLISE</i>	289
APPENDIX 2.....	295
QUESTIONNAIRE	296
QUESTIONNAIRE 0	297
QUESTIONNAIRE I	298
QUESTIONNAIRE II.....	301
NOTES.....	305

Tables

TABLE 1 CONSONANT SYSTEM OF STANDARD ALBANIAN.....	28
TABLE 2 CONSONANT SYSTEMS OF ARBËRESH	29
TABLE 3 VOWEL SYSTEM OF STANDARD ALBANIAN.....	30
TABLE 4 VOWEL SYSTEM OF ARBËRESH.....	30
TABLE 5 CENSUSES FROM 1861 TO 1921	33
TABLE 6 DATA FROM 1901 TO 1911	46
TABLE 7 DATA FROM 1921 TO 1966.....	46
TABLE 8 FISHMAN'S STAGES OF REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT	88
TABLE 9 CAMPOMARINO PILOT SAMPLE	98
TABLE 10 PORTOCANNONE PILOT SAMPLE	98
TABLE 11 URURI PILOT SAMPLE	99
TABLE 12 CODING FRAME OF THE PILOT STUDY	100
TABLE 13 C. P. "COMPETENCE" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES	101
TABLE 14 P. P. "COMPETENCE" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES.....	102
TABLE 15 U. P. "COMPETENCE" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES.....	103
TABLE 16 CAMPOMARINO SAMPLE.....	109
TABLE 17 PORTOCANNONE SAMPLE	110
TABLE 18 URURI SAMPLE	110
TABLE 19 CODING FRAME FOR THE MAIN STUDY.....	114
TABLE 20 C. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS.....	117
TABLE 21 C. "COMPETENCE" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES	118
TABLE 22 C. "COMPETENCE" AND PARENTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES	120
TABLE 23 C. "COMPETENCE" AND GRANDPARENTS' COMPETENCES.....	120
TABLE 24 P. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS	129
TABLE 25 P. "COMPETENCE" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES	130
TABLE 26 P. "COMPETENCE" AND PARENTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES	132
TABLE 27 P. "COMPETENCE" AND GRANDPARENTS' COMPETENCES	133
TABLE 28 P. "SPEAKING" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES.....	134
TABLE 29 P. "LISTENING" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES.....	137
TABLE 30 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH PARENTS.....	139
TABLE 31 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH SIBLINGS.....	139
TABLE 32 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH GRANDPARENTS.....	140
TABLE 33 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH TEACHER	141
TABLE 34 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH SCHOOLMATES.....	141
TABLE 35 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 3 TO 5	142
TABLE 36 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 6 TO 10	142
TABLE 37 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 11 TO 13	143
TABLE 38 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 14 TO 18	143
TABLE 39 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 19 TO 39	144
TABLE 40 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 40 TO 69	144
TABLE 41 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS 70 OR OVER	145
TABLE 42 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE IN TOPIC-BOUND CONVERSATIONS: DAILY LIFE.....	145
TABLE 43 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE IN TOPIC-BOUND CONVERSATIONS: AGRICULTURE.....	146

TABLE 44 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE IN TOPIC-BOUND CONVERSATIONS: SPORT	146
TABLE 45 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WHEN DREAMING.....	147
TABLE 46 P. LANGUAGE CHOICE WHEN MENTAL COUNTING	147
TABLE 47 U. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS	176
TABLE 48 U. "COMPETENCE" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES.....	177
TABLE 49 U. "COMPETENCE" AND PARENTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES.....	179
TABLE 50 U. "COMPETENCE" AND GRANDPARENTS' COMPETENCES.....	180
TABLE 51 U. "SPEAKING" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES	180
TABLE 52 "LISTENING" AND SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND VARIABLES	184
TABLE 53 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH PARENTS	186
TABLE 54 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH SIBLINGS	187
TABLE 55 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH GRANDPARENTS	187
TABLE 56 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH TEACHER.....	188
TABLE 57 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH SCHOOLMATES.....	188
TABLE 58 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 3 TO 5.....	189
TABLE 59 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 6 TO 10.....	189
TABLE 60 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 11 TO 13.....	190
TABLE 61 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 14 TO 18.....	190
TABLE 62 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 19 TO 39.....	191
TABLE 63 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS FROM 40 TO 69.....	191
TABLE 64 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WITH FRIENDS 70 OR OVER.....	192
TABLE 65 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE IN TOPIC-BOUND CONVERSATIONS: DAILY LIFE	192
TABLE 66 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE IN TOPIC-BOUND CONVERSATIONS: AGRICULTURE	193
TABLE 67 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE IN TOPIC-BOUND CONVERSATIONS: SPORT	193
TABLE 68 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WHEN DREAMING	194
TABLE 69 U. LANGUAGE CHOICE WHEN MENTAL COUNTING.....	194
TABLE 70 OFFICIAL DATA ABOUT ALBANIAN MIGRANTS PRESENT IN ITALY	235
TABLE 71 ALBANIAN MIGRANTS PRESENT IN CAMPOMARINO, PORTOCANNONE AND URURI.....	237

FIGURES

FIGURE 1 MAP OF THE ARBËRESH ENCLAVES IN ITALY	23
FIGURE 2 ARBËRESH ENCLAVES IN MOLISE.....	45
FIGURE 3 A LANGUAGE DEATH MODEL.....	57
FIGURE 4 A CATEGORICAL HIERARCHY OF VEGETATION	74
FIGURE 5 A CATEGORICAL HIERARCHY OF ENGLISH SPEAKERS.....	75
FIGURE 6 C. P. DEGREE OF COMPETENCE	100
FIGURE 7 C. P. "COMPETENCE" BY "AGE"	101
FIGURE 8 P. P. DEGREE OF COMPETENCE.....	102
FIGURE 9 P. P. "COMPETENCE" BY "AGE"	102
FIGURE 10 U. P. DEGREE OF COMPETENCE	103
FIGURE 11 U. P. "COMPETENCE" BY "AGE".....	104
FIGURE 12 P. ACTIVE SPEAKERS IN THE THREE VILLAGES.....	104
FIGURE 13 C. DEGREE OF COMPETENCE	117
FIGURE 14 C. "COMPETENCE" BY "AGE"	118
FIGURE 15 C. "COMPETENCE" BY "OCCUPATION".....	119
FIGURE 16 C. "OCCUPATION" BY "AGE".....	119
FIGURE 17 C. FAMILY I.....	121
FIGURE 18 C. FAMILY II	122
FIGURE 19 C. FAMILY III.....	123
FIGURE 20 C. LACK OF DESIRE.....	124
FIGURE 21 C. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT: NEGATIVE OPINION	125
FIGURE 22 C. ALBANIAN AS SCHOOL SUBJECT: NEGATIVE OPINION BY "AGE"	125
FIGURE 23 C. ALBANIAN AS A MEDIUM OF EDUCATION: NEGATIVE OPINION	126
FIGURE 24 C. ALBANIAN AS A MEDIUM OF EDUCATION: NEGATIVE OPINION BY "AGE"	127
FIGURE 25 P. DEGREE OF COMPETENCE.....	130
FIGURE 26 P. "COMPETENCE" BY "AGE".....	131
FIGURE 27 P. "COMPETENCE" BY "GENDER".....	131
FIGURE 28 P. "COMPETENCE" BY "OCCUPATION"	132
FIGURE 29 P. "SPEAKING" BY "AGE"	134
FIGURE 30 P. "SPEAKING" BY "GENDER"	135
FIGURE 31 P. "SPEAKING" BY "LEVEL OF EDUCATION"	135
FIGURE 32 P. "LEVEL OF EDUCATION" BY "AGE"	136
FIGURE 33 P. "SPEAKING" BY "OCCUPATION".....	136
FIGURE 34 P. "OCCUPATION" BY "LEVEL OF EDUCATION"	137
FIGURE 35 P. "LISTENING" BY "AGE"	138
FIGURE 36 P. "LISTENING" BY "LEVEL OF EDUCATION"	138
FIGURE 37 P. ARBËRESH TRANSMISSION	148
FIGURE 38 P. ARBËRESH TRANSMISSION BY "AGE"	148
FIGURE 39 P. FAMILY I.....	150
FIGURE 40 P. FAMILY II.....	152
FIGURE 41 P. FAMILY III	153

FIGURE 42 P. FAMILY IV	154
FIGURE 43 P. FAMILY V	155
FIGURE 44 P. FAMILY VI	156
FIGURE 45 P. FAMILY VII.....	157
FIGURE 46 P. THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE.....	158
FIGURE 47 P. THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE BY "AGE"	159
FIGURE 48 P. ITALIAN THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE	159
FIGURE 49 P. ITALIAN THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE BY "AGE"	161
FIGURE 50 P. BOTH LANGUAGES ARE IMPORTANT.....	161
FIGURE 51 P. BOTH LANGUAGES ARE IMPORTANT BY "AGE".....	162
FIGURE 52 P. BILINGUALS' SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION	163
FIGURE 53 P. BILINGUALS' SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION BY "AGE"	163
FIGURE 54 P. BILINGUALS' DISSATISFACTION.....	163
FIGURE 55 P. BILINGUALS' DISSATISFACTION BY "AGE"	165
FIGURE 56 P. BILINGUALS' SATISFACTION	165
FIGURE 57 P. BILINGUALS' SATISFACTION BY "AGE"	166
FIGURE 58 P. LACK OF DESIRE.....	166
FIGURE 59 P. LACK OF DESIRE BY "AGE"	167
FIGURE 60 P. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT.....	168
FIGURE 61 P. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT BY "AGE"	169
FIGURE 62 P. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT: NEGATIVE OPINION.....	169
FIGURE 63 P. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT: NEGATIVE OPINION BY "AGE"	170
FIGURE 64 P. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT: POSITIVE OPINION.....	170
FIGURE 65 P. ALBANIAN AS A MEDIUM OF EDUCATION: NEGATIVE OPINION	171
FIGURE 66 P. ALBANIAN AS A MEDIUM OF EDUCATION: NEGATIVE OPINION BY "AGE"	171
FIGURE 67 P. ARBËRESH: THE LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNITY	173
FIGURE 68 U. DEGREE OF COMPETENCE.....	176
FIGURE 69 U. "COMPETENCE" BY "AGE"	177
FIGURE 70 U. "COMPETENCE" BY "LEVEL OF EDUCATION".....	178
FIGURE 71 U. "COMPETENCE" BY "OCCUPATION"	179
FIGURE 72 U. "SPEAKING" BY "AGE"	181
FIGURE 73 U. "SPEAKING" BY "GENDER"	181
FIGURE 74 U. "SPEAKING" BY "LEVEL OF EDUCATION"	182
FIGURE 75 U. "LEVEL OF EDUCATION" BY "AGE"	182
FIGURE 76 U. "SPEAKING" BY "OCCUPATION"	183
FIGURE 77 U. "OCCUPATION" BY "LEVEL OF EDUCATION"	183
FIGURE 78 U. "LISTENING" BY "AGE"	184
FIGURE 79 U. "LISTENING" BY "LEVEL OF EDUCATION"	185
FIGURE 80 U. "LISTENING" BY "OCCUPATION"	185
FIGURE 81 U. ARBËRESH TRANSMISSION	195
FIGURE 82 U. ARBËRESH TRANSMISSION BY "AGE"	195
FIGURE 83 U. FAMILY I	197
FIGURE 84 U. FAMILY II	199
FIGURE 85 U. FAMILY III.....	200
FIGURE 86 U. FAMILY IV.....	201
FIGURE 87 U. FAMILY V	202
FIGURE 88 U. FAMILY VI.....	203

FIGURE 89 U. FAMILY VII	204
FIGURE 90 U. FAMILY VIII.....	204
FIGURE 91 U. THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE.....	206
FIGURE 92 U. THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE BY "AGE"	206
FIGURE 93 U. ITALIAN THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE	207
FIGURE 94 U. ITALIAN THE MOST IMPORTANT LANGUAGE BY "AGE"	207
FIGURE 95 U. BOTH LANGUAGES ARE IMPORTANT	209
FIGURE 96 U. BOTH LANGUAGES ARE IMPORTANT BY "AGE"	209
FIGURE 97 U. BILINGUALS' SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION.....	210
FIGURE 98 U. BILINGUALS' SATISFACTION AND DISSATISFACTION BY "AGE"	211
FIGURE 99 U. BILINGUALS' DISSATISFICTION	211
FIGURE 100 U. BILINGUALS' DISSATISFACTION BY "AGE"	211
FIGURE 101 U. BILINGUALS' SATISFACTION	212
FIGURE 102 U. BILINGUALS' SATISFACTION BY "AGE"	213
FIGURE 103 U. LACK OF DESIRE	214
FIGURE 104 U. LACK OF DESIRE BY "AGE"	214
FIGURE 105 U. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT	215
FIGURE 106 U. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT BY "AGE"	216
FIGURE 107 U. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT: NEGATIVE OPINION	216
FIGURE 108 U. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECTS: NEGATIVE OPINION BY "AGE" ...	217
FIGURE 109 U. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT: POSITIVE OPINION	217
FIGURE 110 U. ALBANIAN AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT BY "AGE"	218
FIGURE 111 U. ALBANIAN AS A MEDIUM OF EDUCATION: NEGATIVE OPINION.....	219
FIGURE 112 U. ALBANIAN AS A MEDIUM OF EDUCATION: NEGATIVE OPINION BY "AGE"	219
FIGURE 113 U. ARBËRESH: THE LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNITY BY "AGE"	220
FIGURE 114 A HIERARCHICAL CATEGORIZATION OF ADRIATIC PEOPLE.....	238

Introduction

FOCUS OF THE THESIS

The most macabre anthropomorphic metaphor linguists have come up with, “language death”, describes a common phenomenon among minority languages today. The focus of the present research is on one minority language, Arbëresh, spoken by groups of Albanians who have migrated to the South of Italy in different waves since the 15th century. To this day the descendants of these immigrants and their language are generally called Arbëresh or Arbënesh, as they referred to themselves and to their mother tongue in the Middle Ages. My aim is to give a picture of Arbëresh vitality from the perspective of the speakers’ competence and attitudes towards the language. Three Arbëresh enclaves in Molise - Campomarino, Portocannone, Ururi - form the focus of the fieldwork. In one of these communities, Campomarino a seaside resort, I spent my summer holidays during my childhood, and as a child “those villagers” aroused my curiosity, particularly because I used to be told “*non andare lì, ci sono gli Albanesi!!*” (“don’t go there, there are the Albanians!”), and “*gli Albanesi sono cattivi di natura*” (“the Albanians are evil by nature”). I went to Campomarino six years ago and I found the situation to be different from the past: I could not hear their “particular” language as before, even though it seemed commonly used in the village near it, Portocannone. I found that there is a considerable literature about the Arbëresh minority language, but only concerning few communities in Sicilia and Calabria. There was nothing about Arbëresh in Molise, a place where it seemed to be disappearing fast. It is for this reason that I decided to undertake fieldwork in Molise and engage seriously with this old interest; moreover, I thought that investigating three Arbëresh communities which form a geographical continuum could reveal something interesting about the vitality of the language, and more generally about the nature of minority language maintenance and what government language policy can, and cannot, do to assist it.

Given the number of centuries that have passed since the arrival of their ancestors to Italy, it would be wrong to consider the Arbëresh people as an immigrant group. They have been separated from Albania with no contacts for five centuries, with

the result that they are culturally and linguistically different from modern Albanians. In other words they qualify as an “indigenous group” of Italy. It is for this reason that I use the term of “language death” rather than “language shift”: the former is a type of language shift where the language being abandoned is left with no speakers anywhere, whereas the latter describes the shift from one language to another in a community, but with speakers of that language surviving elsewhere. This is what commonly happens in the case of immigrant groups shifting towards the language of the host country. However, the distinct history of Arbëresh has qualified it as a language in its own right – certainly in the minds of its speakers, who make clear that they do not see Albanian as “their language”, for educational purposes, for example. Hence if the Arbëresh communities undergo a complete shift, as they appear to be doing, we are justified in describing the situation as “language death”, since Arbëresh will not survive among communities elsewhere in the world.

OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into four sections. The first part is about the Arbëresh presence in Italy. It starts with the presentation of the most relevant historical aspects of these communities, together with their geographical location in Italy and their actual number. The Albanian presence in Italy dates back to the 13th century, but only in the second half of the 15th century did this presence start constituting an identifiable ethnic community with their own identity, culture and language. In 1448 Alfonso d’Aragona, the King of Napoli, suffered a rebellion by certain barons in the rural areas of his kingdom in southern Italy. Needing reliable troops to deal with the uprising, he called upon his Albanian allies for assistance. A detachment of Albanian troops quickly suppressed the rebellion and restored order. Albanian help to the Kingdom of Napoli was not forgotten when in 1467 the Turkish army invaded Albania. Several groups of Arbëresh exiles were given hospitality in the Kingdom of Sicilia, particularly in several abandoned and underpopulated rural villages of the South. In the region of Molise Arbëresh people were assigned the uninhabited fiefdom of Auroram (Ururi) by Monsign. De Misseriis, a fiefdom which had been completely destroyed by the terrible earthquake in 1456. The new inhabitants rebuilt the village and later on they went to the areas of Biferno and Fortore, today’s Portocannone, Campomarino, Montecilfone.

These communities of rural origin devoted themselves to agriculture and cattle breeding, while the noblemen, trained in the art of war, kept fighting for the Kingdom of Napoli, receiving favors as a reward. For all the other Arbëresh people almost nothing was done in order to improve their conditions, apart from some religious concessions: they were allowed to keep the Greek Rite, which was also recognised by Pope Paul II. The situation changed at the end of the 17th century, when Arbëresh people were required to convert to the Latin Rite. In other words, whether privileges were granted or whether people themselves were suppressed depended on the specific attitudes and strategies of each particular feudal lord and bishop.

It is not easy to establish the current number of people speaking Arbëresh in Italy, because a particular reference to the Italian citizens speaking a minority language is not present in the national censuses. The only sources of data regarding the number of Arbëresh speakers were collected during academic research. According to previous studies, the Arbëresh diaspora is made up of about 100,000 people (Pellegrini 1994: 111).

Later in the section the focus is on the sociolinguistics of the Arbëresh communities, together with a brief description of the Arbëresh varieties spoken in Italy. These show several linguistic traits which link them to the southern Albanian varieties, grouped under the label of Tosk. Indeed, most migrants came from the Southern regions of Albania. Nevertheless, it is not possible to identify Arbëresh with Tosk: *“l'albanese d'Italia non solo fu trasportato da oltremare, ma anche si formò nelle nuove sedi. Accanto a spartizioni e ramificazioni di unità dialettali originarie vi è stata là anche una mescolanza dialettale, attraverso la simbiosi nello stesso comune e le relazioni naturali tra comuni vicini. Accanto alla divergenza ha operato così la convergenza”*¹ (Çabej 1994: 88). The symbiosis with standard Italian and its regional varieties is one of the causes accounting for the difference between Arbëresh and standard Albanian. The differences among them, not very deep in the morphological and the syntactic system, are considerable in the phonetic and above all in the lexical system. Nevertheless, 40% of their lexis, constituted by the most common words, is identical or similar, making them mutually intelligible in many daily life conversations.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, the Arbëresh enclaves were involved in a situation of diglossia² between Arbëresh and the regional Romance variety, with the

former in a dominant position, until the first decade of the 20th century. With the spread of standard Italian this situation was replaced by a diglossia - Italian vs Arbëresh - or even by a triglossia³ - Italian vs regional variety vs Arbëresh - with the latter in a subordinate position.

There follows an analysis of the minority languages status both in Europe and in Italy. The language rights movement has been very active in Europe. The influence of the Council of Europe, particularly with the Charter for Regional and Minority Languages - and institutions funded by the European Union was very effective on several governments and, among them Italy. The last two decades have seen an intensification of initiatives which aimed to establish a national law about the maintenance of minority languages: *“L’approvazione di una legge relativa all’insegnamento in Albanese nelle elementari e all’uso dell’albanese alle medie e nei “media” di più ampia diffusione, rappresenterebbe comunque un successo di incalcolabili conseguenze, uno strumento che cambierebbe profondamente il giudizio implicito e l’atteggiamento emotivo dei parlanti nei confronti delle lingue minoritarie, garantendone la vitalità dall’interno delle stesse istituzioni repubblicane”*⁴ (Savoia 1994: 62). Finally, at the end of 1999 Law 482/1999 was passed. According to it, any legally recognised minority group’s language can be used, as much as Italian, as object and/or means of education, in official documents, in toponymy, in onomastics and by the media. However, since Albanian is the recognised minority language according to the law, it is standard Albanian which might be used in the Arbëresh speaking communities.

The theoretical background to my thesis is presented in the second section and includes analysis of the complex processes behind “language death”. Although enough scholarship put forward models which assess the likelihood of language loss with some accuracy (Sasse 1992; Edwards 1992; Grenoble and Whaley 1998), so complex is the interplay of factors that it might ultimately prove impossible to predict the fate of individual languages. This will be demonstrated through the presentation of two different cases of language attrition: East Sutherland Gaelic (Dorian 1981) and Arvanítika (Tsitsipis 1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1998), which Sasse’s prototypical model is based on. The third case study which will be presented is Hungarian in Eastern Austria (Gal 1979), where I shall try to show that a more adequate account of language shift is possible by approaching it as an instance of socially motivated linguistic change than isolating the factors whose presence allows the shift.

The following chapter deals with those factors which could account for the death of minority languages. Among them, intergroup behaviour is of great relevance. According to “Social Identity” theory (Tajfel 1974, 1978, Tajfel & Turner 1986), there are different ways in which individuals can achieve a positive self-concept and specific conditions under which various strategies might be pursued. The extent to which individuals perceive the current intergroup status relationships to be legitimate or illegitimate, and stable or unstable, were seen by Tajfel and his collaborators as important determinants of group members’ actions. Turner used the concept of Social Identity theory to provide insights into the social psychological basis of group formation, and developed a more general theory of group processes, “Self-categorization Theory”. In the present study, the following ideas from this theory are considered:

- categorization seen as the fundamental basis of our social orientation towards others;
- the relative “prototypicality” of members within a group and the inter-groups relations (Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1994, 1998);
- the level of inclusiveness at which and the degree to which one categorizes self and others as similar or different varies with the social context within which comparison takes place.

Subsequently, the process of nation-building will be analysed in the light of the resulting minorities’ identities (Wright 2004). Finally Bourdieu’s idea of “cultural capital” (Bourdieu 1982, 1986, 1991) and the concept of “language as core value of culture” (Smolicz 1988) will be discussed, and their role in the process of language loss assessed.

The last chapter of this section deals with the type of efforts which might be undertaken in order to revitalize a dying language. Two possible strategies will be presented: Fishman’s (1990, 1991) and King’s framework (2001). These two models are chosen as they oppose two different sets of actions, i.e. bottom-up and top-down strategies. All the theories presented in the theoretical section will be used in order to explain what will be found through the sociolinguistic study of Arbëresh in Molise.

The third section is devoted to a sociolinguistic survey, carried out in three of the Arbëresh enclaves in Molise – Campomarino, Portocannone, and Ururi. The main

study was preceded by a pilot study, aiming to calculate the frequency of the Arbëresh speakers in the three villages. The pilot results show two basic trends:

1. active competence in Arbëresh is age-related: its frequency gets higher as the speakers' age increases;
2. the three villages, which are a geographical continuum, differ in their percentage of Arbëresh speakers: the percentage gets higher proceeding from Campomarino to Portocannone and to Ururi, that is from the outmost part of the region to an inland location to one further inland.

The pilot study results were the starting point of the main sociolinguistic survey, aiming to point out:

- Arbëresh vitality in the three villages;
- Arbëresh community's attitudes towards Arbëresh language and standard Albanian.

From the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data collected, an overwhelming decline of Arbëresh could be observed. This decline has nearly reached its final point in Campomarino; whereas in the other two villages, a proficiency continuum emerges, where the relation between the speakers and their competence and use of Arbëresh is determined by their age: competence and use increase together with the speakers' age.

Some elements of revitalization can be found in the linguistic minorities' status under the recent Italian Law 482/1999. However, what creates a problem for Arbëresh people is that it is standard Albanian which might be introduced in their communities.

The introduction of standard Albanian seems to endanger a very precarious balance. The last fifteen years have seen a massive Albanian migration to Italy. The "new" Albanians have settled, above all, in the "historical" Arbëresh enclaves of Italy. Since the beginning of the modern migration the Arbëresh people have tried to distinguish themselves from the "new" Albanians, who today are stigmatized as "criminals" almost everywhere in Italy.

The new situation has caused changes in the linguistic attitudes of Arbëresh speakers towards the use of Arbëresh and standard Albanian. From the results of the

sociolinguistic survey, it emerges that these changes in the speakers' attitudes could be observed in Portocannone and Ururi too. In Campomarino, the stigma attached to Albanians has reinforced the already strong negative attitudes towards the use of Arbëresh.

The situation in Portocannone and Ururi can be understood in the light of Social Identity theory. In other words, there was a passage from a strong dichotomy between the in-group, the Arbëresh community, and the out-group, Italians, to a situation where the in-group boundaries are perceived by Arbëresh people as soft and permeable. This is because the "new" Albanians have tried to get into the in-group. The result is that members of the in-group wish to pass out of the group which is causing them so much comparative discomfort into a more positively valued one, in this case, the dominant Italian ethnic community. To this end, the Arberësh people will attempt to acquire the characteristics of the dominant group and thereby secure for themselves a more adequate social identity. With the former in-group members trying to assimilate to the former out-group, the danger is that the collective consequences may be the death of the original in-group language, Arbëresh. This kind of self-selection to abandon a heritage language has been called "language suicide" (Denison 1977: 21).

These results will be applied in both a theoretical and a practical dimension:

- Theoretically they confirm that minority language maintenance is associated with elderly, rural areas, and primary sector employment;
- They shed light on three theoretical issues:
 1. The factors that make it predictable that the language will disappear as a family language;
 2. The adequacy of existing models of language decline and death;
 3. The limited role of government language policy in minority languages maintenance;
- Practically, suggestions about the possible implementation of Law 482/1999 will be proposed, in the light of the Arbëresh speakers' counter tendency to the revitalization trend present throughout Europe.

Section I. The Arbëresh

Chapter I.1. Italy

Arbëresh presence in

This chapter deals with those groups of Albanians who, in the wake of foreign invasions and pressures, migrated to the South of Italy in different waves from the middle of the 15th century. To this day the descendants of these immigrants and their language are generally called Arbëresh or Arbëneshe, as they referred to themselves and to their mother tongue in the Middle Ages.

As Çabej (1976) notices: *“insieme ad altre cause di natura economica e sociale, lo spirito di libertà e di indipendenza che ha animato il popolo albanese nel corso della sua storia, è stato uno dei moventi che lo hanno spinto all’abbandono dei luoghi aviti e alla ricerca di una nuova patria nei paesi d’oltremare quando l’Albania cadde sotto la dominazione turca”*¹ (Çabej 1976: 5). In order to understand the complex processes behind the status of Arbëresh, some historical aspects of these communities, together with their geographical dislocation in Italy will be presented.

I.1.1. THE MIGRATIONS TO ITALY

In 1448 Alfonso d’Aragona, the King of Napoli, suffered a rebellion among certain barons in the rural areas of his kingdom in Southern Italy. Needing reliable troops to deal with the uprising, he called upon his ally Giorgio Castriota of Kroja, military commander of the Albanian Alliance, for assistance. Lord Castriota, known as “Skanderbeg”, responded to Alfonso’s request for aid by sending to Italy a detachment of Albanian troops commanded by General Demetrios Reres. These Albanian soldiers, who brought with them their wives and families, quickly suppressed the rebellion and restored order. King Alfonso rewarded Demetrio Reres for his service to Napoli by appointing him Governor of Calabria. His troops received tracts of land in the mountainous area of today’s province of Catanzaro, an area which had been devastated by disease and exploitation².

Two years later in 1450, another detachment of Albanian troops, led by Giorgio and Basilio Reres, Demetrios’ sons, was sent to garrison Sicilia against a rebellion and invasion. These soldiers settled in three separate military camps in the province of

Palermo, later becoming the Arbëresh villages of Contessa Entellina, Mezzojuso and Palazzo Adriano.

The second migration wave started from 1458, when Alfonso d'Aragona died and the Kingdom of Napoli passed to his son, Ferdinand. This succession of the crown of Napoli was opposed by the rural feudal barons of the kingdom and soon, with military assistance from France, they once again rebelled against their ruler. With backing from Pope Pius II, Ferdinand appealed to Skanderbeg to come to the aid of Napoli, as his father did twenty years before.

In 1461 Skanderbeg landed at Brindisi in the region of Puglia, with five thousand Albanian soldiers under his command, and laid siege to Barletta, where Ferdinand was entrapped by Giovanni D'Angiò's armies. The Albanian hero crushed the baronial army at the battle of Ursara on the 18 August 1462.

Skanderbeg quickly returned to Albania after the victory, because of a Turkish invasion there. However, his troops remained in Italy, and were rewarded by Ferdinand with grants of lands east of the city of Taranto in the region of Puglia. Skanderbeg himself was awarded large tracts of land in the province of Foggia in Puglia, where his family went when the Turks overran Albania.

The third wave of Albanian settlement in Italy was not by soldiers but by refugees. In 1467 the Turkish army invaded Albania and, for the first time in twenty five years of attempts, was able to gain a foothold on Albanian soil. With Skanderbeg's death in 1468, Albanian resistance faded and without his strong leadership the Albanian alliance of feudal nobles and tribal chieftains began to fall apart. The fortified cities of Albania, left to the protection of Venice by Skanderbeg's will, began to fall one by one to Sultan Mehmed's armies. As each city fell, the citizens either fled into the mountains or across the sea to Italy. Many found their way to cities in the north of Italy, particularly in Venice, while others settled in several abandoned and underpopulated rural villages of the south. Skanderbeg's family fled to Italy too, after his death, where one of his daughters, Elena, entered into the nobility of Napoli, marrying the Prince of Bisagnato. With her position of influence, she is said to have encouraged the kingdom to accept and resettle refugees from her homeland. Skanderbeg's son John Castriota continued to lead military expeditions against the Turkish occupation of his homeland for another fifteen years, but only with minor success. Venice was not able to afford to

keep up its war alone against the Turks and, without major allies, was finally forced to sign an unfavorable treaty with the Sultan ceding away most of its Albanian ports to the Ottoman Empire. This move propelled more refugees to Italy, who settled the remainder of the Albanian villages, mostly in the southern region of Puglia, Molise and Calabria, and one additional village in Sicilia.

The largest Albanian migrations ended with these refugees. However, other exiles arrived in Italy later on: Arbëresh migrations ended definitely only with the establishment of Villa Badessa in Abruzzo in 1744.

To conclude this historical sketch about Arbëresh migrations, Altimari's words explain the situation the migrants found in Italy clearly: "*Con le immigrazioni albanesi si assiste in Calabria e nel Meridione in genere, ad una nuova fase di espansione demografica, che si accentua alla fine del '400 e continua per tutta la prima metà del '500; concomitante e correlata ad essa c'è la forte ripresa che caratterizza l'economia europea (e quella calabrese) tra il 1450 e il 1550. Ed è proprio in questa società in grande crescita economica, ma priva di braccia di lavoro sufficienti a sostenerla, che si colloca la concessione di condizioni di favore a queste popolazioni nomadi, che sin dalle prime migrazioni, non si erano mai stabilizzate in alcun luogo*"³ (Altimari 1994: 10).

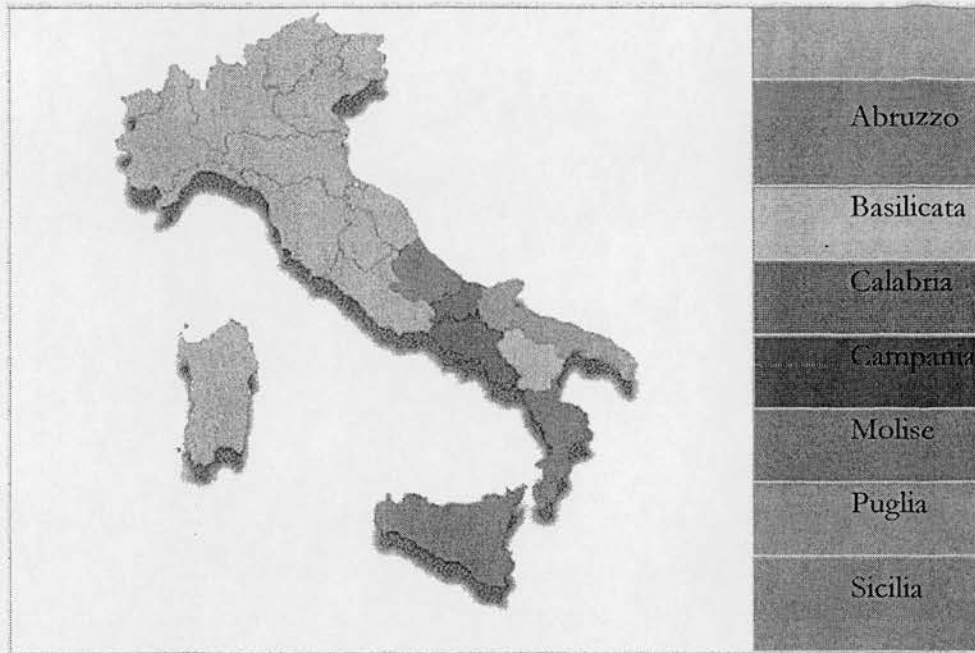
I.1.2. THE SETTLEMENT IN ITALY

I.1.2.1. Dislocations in Italy

Because of their pride and their strong ethnic spirit, the Arbëresh people could not stand the Italian barons' arrogant behaviour and sometimes they decided to leave one place for another. Therefore, although the Arbëresh presence in Italy dates back to the 13th century, only in the second half of the 15th century did this presence start constituting an identifiable ethnic community, with their own identity, language, culture and religion. As Gambarara (1981) points out "*la costituzione di comunità albanesi non è avvenuta d'un colpo, con uno spostamento netto e definitivo, alle date tradizionali delle immigrazioni, quattro-cinquecentesche, ma è il risultato di un lungo e tormentato processo, che comprende passaggi senza stanziamento attraverso centri diversi, rapido insorgere e rapido deperire di agglomerati provvisori, l'assorbimento in comunità italiane di stanziamenti albanesi minoritari, fusione sul suolo italiano tra albanesi di diversa provenienza e tra albanesi ed italiani, spostamenti ancora da un centro albanese ad un altro*"⁴ (Gambarara 1981: 50).

The following is a map representing the Arbëresh enclaves in Italy, forming what is known by the name of *Arbëria*, that is the whole of the Arbëresh communities settled in Italy:

Figure 1 Map of the Arbëresh enclaves in Italy



The Arbëresh communities are present in different regions of Southern Italy: Abruzzo, Molise, Campania, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, and Sicilia. The Arbëresh village in Abruzzo is Villabadessa, in the province of Pescara; in Molise, there are the communities of Montecilfone, Portocannone, Ururi and Campomarino in the province of Campobasso; in Campania, there is the village of Greci in the province of Avellino; in the region of Puglia the Arbëresh communities are: Casalvecchio and Chieuti in the province of Foggia, and San Marzano di San Giuseppe in the province of Taranto; in Basilicata, the Arbëresh villages are: Barile, Casalnuovo Lucano, Ginestra, Maschito and San Costantino Albanese, in the province of Potenza; in Calabria, Arbëresh communities are present in the province of Catanzaro - Caraffa di Catanzaro, Vena, Andali, Marcedusa, Zangarona - in the province of Crotona - Carfizzi, Pallagorio and San Nicola dell'Alto -, and in the province of Cosenza - Acquafredda, Castrolibero, Cervicati, Cerzeto, Civita, Falconara Albanese, Firmo, Frascineto, Lungro, Mongrassano, Plataci, San Basile, San Benedetto Ullano, San Cosmo Albanese, San Demetrio Corone, San Giorgio Albanese, San Martino di Finita, Santa Caterina

Albanese, Santa Sofia d'Epiro, Spezzano Albanese and Vaccarizzo Albanese; in Sicilia, there are the communities of Piana degli Albanesi, Santa Cristina di Gela, Contessa Entellina, Mezzojuso and Palazzo Adriano in the province of Palermo.

This geographical dislocation and the consequent isolation of the Arbëresh communities are summarised clearly by the popular saying *giaku ynë I shprishur* ("our dispersed blood").

I.1.2.2. Italy as their new mother country

The Arbëresh people's adoption of Italy as their new mother country was not an easy task to achieve. The introduction of the Arbëresh element into a Romance environment gave birth to a very precarious balance between Arbëresh people and Italians: different religious rites, the Greek Orthodox versus the Catholic, different languages and cultures caused hostility among them: "*I vescovi latini, nelle Diocesi de' quali erano siti gli Albanesi, invece di promuovere in questi gli studi, far crescere i lumi, proteggere le scienze, e le arti, per una mal intesa Religione non hanno avuto altra cura che abbattere il rito greco adottato da essi. Da ciò sono venuti eterni litigi, e reciproche ostilità*"⁵ (Masci 1847: 680). The deep sense of belonging to their religion, and their subsequent strong willingness to keep it alive, gave the Arbëresh population the strength to fight for it⁶. A part of them, before coming to Italy, were already linked to the Catholic Church, others, once in Italy, were forced to abandon the Greek-Orthodox Rite and to submit to the Latin Church⁷; whereas some communities were able to submit to the Latin Church while keeping their Byzantine religious identity⁸.

Chapter I.2. The sociolinguistics of the Arbëresh communities

After introducing some basic concepts concerning both standard Albanian and Arbëresh, I shall present some of the differences between them, examining every level of linguistic structure, but not pretending to give a complete picture of the differences between the two linguistic systems, rather only limiting myself to particular features. The reason why I include this structural description of the two linguistic systems is to show that the distance between the two is not so deep as to make them mutually unintelligible. Hence, from a structural point of view Arbëresh people could accept standard Albanian as their *Dachsprache*. Secondly, I shall provide data on the numbers of Arbëresh speakers resident in Italy, together with the sociolinguistic situation of Arbëresh communities from the second half of the 19th century to the second half of the 20th century.

I.2.1. ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

That Albanian is of Indo-European origin was recognised by the German philologist, Franz Bopp, only in 1854¹. Indeed, if on the one hand it preserved many features which are characteristic of Proto-Indo-European and which are also to be found in the other Indo-European languages, on the other it has undergone a continuous process of development which has caused changes in its linguistic structure.

Like Greek and Armenian, Albanian is a separate branch of Indo-European. In the course of its development it has also evolved a number of features which are characteristic of the Balkan languages as well as its own particular features.

The details of the main correspondences of Albanian with Indo-European languages were elaborated by another German philologist, Gustav Meyer, in the 1880s and 1890s². Further linguistic refinements were presented by the Danish linguist Holger Pedersen³ and the Austrian Norbert Jokl⁴.

To give a broad idea of the types of relationships between Albanian and the reconstructed Proto-Indo European I offer the following examples:

1. The Indo-European languages had at a certain stage of their development evolved a system of five vowels: */a e i o u/ both long and short⁵. In attested Albanian seven vowels are indicated */a i u e o y ë/ both long and short where three of the five Proto-Indo-European short vowels, */a i u/ have generally preserved their quality in tonic syllables, such as *i athët* ("acid") < *a k'idus;
2. Albanian like the other Indo-European languages has preserved the contrast voiceless ~ voiced of the consonant system;
3. in the noun system we find features which are basically Indo-European: traces of neuter gender; traces of the old declensional system which has undergone extensive reorganisations;
4. in the verb system, Albanian has preserved traces of the quantative ablaut, which in certain verbs characterised the opposition between the present and synthetic perfect. These traces are visible in verbs of the type *dal* ~ *dol-a* ("I go out ~ I went out"). In such cases *o* of the old synthetic perfect was a result of the development *ā > *o* or *ē > *o*.⁶

Notwithstanding certain points of resemblance in structure and phonetics, the Albanian language is entirely distinct from the tongues spoken by the neighbouring nationalities. This language is particularly interesting as the only surviving representative of the so-called Thraco-Illyrian group of languages, which formed the primitive speech of the inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. However, its analysis presents great difficulties, as, owing to the absence of early literary monuments, no certainty can be arrived at with regard to its earlier forms and later developments.

The division of Albanian into two main dialects, northern and southern, respectively Geg and Tosk, separated roughly by the river Shkumbin, goes back to the first millennium AD⁷. This dialectal division took place during the gradual transition from the "parent language" to Albanian. The differences between the two dialects are mainly phonetic in character. The principal differences are: rhotacism of intervocalic -n- to -r-, rise of a tonic vowel /ë/ in the southern dialect and nasalization of tonic vowels

before nasal consonants in the northern dialect⁸. However, their less extreme forms are mutually intelligible.

The official language, written in a standard roman-style orthography adopted in 1909, is based on the south Geg dialect of Elbasan, but since the end of World War II it has been modelled on Tosk. Speakers in Kosovo and in Macedonia use eastern varieties of Geg, but since 1974 have widely adopted a common orthography with Albania.

I.2.2. ARBËRESH LANGUAGE

Arbëresh is both the name of the language and the in-group label of Albanians of Italy. From a linguistic point of view, behind the label Arbëresh the whole of the Arbëresh varieties are grouped together, but there is neither a common Arbëresh language of reference⁹, nor a common literary language¹⁰.

Arbëresh varieties show several common linguistic traits with Albanian southern varieties, grouped under the label of Tosk¹¹: this is because most migrants came from the Southern regions of Albania. Nevertheless, it is not possible to identify Arbëresh with Tosk, since some linguistic elements of Geg are recognisable in it. Indeed, only the first immigrants created compact groups from an ethno-linguistic point of view, but subsequently they formed heterogeneous groups of people coming from different regions of Albania and also from Greece¹². The recognition of Tosk as its main basis, as well as other linguistic elements, linking it with Geg on the one hand and with the Albanian spoken in Greece¹³ on the other, cannot explain the complex linguistic reality behind Arbëresh. Usually scholars have underlined the conservative aspects of Arbëresh varieties together with the progressive assimilation of Romance linguistic material as symptoms of the reduction of the linguistic system¹⁴, of “inverse” pidginization¹⁵, but *“l'albanese d'Italia non solo fu trasportato da oltremare, ma anche si formò nelle nuove sedi. Accanto a spartizioni e ramificazioni di unità dialettali originarie vi è stata là anche una mescolanza dialettale, attraverso la simbiosi nello stesso comune e le relazioni naturali tra comuni vicini. Accanto alla divergenza ha operato così la convergenza”*¹⁶ (Çabej 1994: 88). Indeed, the symbiosis with standard Italian and its regional varieties is the main reason for divergences between Arbëresh and standard Albanian, and among the Arbëresh varieties spoken in Italy.

I.2.3. STANDARD ALBANIAN AND ARBËRESH

The differences between Arbëresh and standard Albanian, not very deep in the phonological, morphological and the syntactic system, are considerable in the lexical system¹⁷: on the one hand there are Italian words coming into Arbëresh lexis¹⁸, and on the other there are several loans from non-standard Italian varieties. Moreover, other obvious reasons for the divergence between Arbëresh and standard Albanian are the natural evolution of Arbëresh in Italy, and the linguistic innovations of Tosk, between the time of Arbëresh migrations to Italy and today.

I.2.3.1. Standard Albanian vs Arbëresh: phonology

In this section standard Albanian and Arbëresh phonological system will be presented through tables. The following show the consonant system of standard Albanian¹⁹ and Arbëresh²⁰:

Table 1 Consonant system of standard Albanian

		Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Apico-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	Unvoiced	p			t			c	k	
Plosive	Voiced	b			d			ɟ	g	
Affricate	Unvoiced				ts		tʃ			
Affricate	Voiced				dz		dʒ			
Nasal	Voiced	m			n			ɲ		
Lateral	Voiced					l				
Vibrant	Monovibrant				r					
Vibrant	Polivibrant				R					
Fricative	Unvoiced		f	θ	s		ʃ	ç		h
Fricative.	Voiced		v	ð	z		ʒ	j	y	

Table 2 Consonant systems of Arbëresh

		Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Apico-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	Unvoiced	p			t			c	k	
Plosive	Voiced	b			d			ɟ	g	
Affricate	Unvoiced				ts		tʃ			
Affricate	Voiced				dz		dʒ			
Nasal	Voiced	m			n			ɲ		
Lateral	Voiced					l		ʎ		
Vibrant	Monovibrant				r					
Vibrant	Polivibrant				R					
Fricative	Unvoiced		f	θ	s		ʃ	ç		h
Fricative.	Voiced		v	ð	z		ʒ	j	y	

From a comparison of the tables, it is noticeable that the only difference is the presence in Arbëresh of the consonant /ʎ/, absent in Albanian. However, the phonetic realisations of the consonants may be different in the varieties of both the languages, particularly the consonants /ç/, /h/, /j/, /f/, /s/.

Table 3 Vowel system of standard Albanian

	Front		Central	Back
	Unrounded	Rounded		
High		y		u
Mid	e		ə	o
Low			a	

Table 4 Vowel system of Arbëresh

	Front		Central	Back
	Unrounded	Rounded		
High		y		u
Mid	e		ə	o
Low			a	

The only difference recorded among Arbëresh and Albanian varieties is the different allophonic variants of the vowel /ə/ both in stressed and unstressed positions.

I.2.3.2. Standard Albanian vs Arbëresh: grammar

The morphological differences between standard Albanian and Arbëresh can be grouped into:

1. archaic structures of Arbëresh which Albanian has lost in the course of its evolution, such as:
 - a. the neuter in the nominal system;
 - b. the analogic extension of the plural of the masculine nouns. In Labëria and Ciamuria and in all Tosk regions this kind of plural can have the forms *ër*, *-ëre*, *-ër*, while in Geg it is *-ën*, *-ëna*, *-na*, *mbretër mbretën* “kings”, *drithëra drithna* “cereals”;
 - c. the forms of the plural ablative *-shit*, such as *diershit* “from the doors” a characteristic shared by ancient Geg and some Southern Tosk varieties;
 - d. The formation of abstract nouns through the substantivizing of the adjectives and the suffixes *-im*, *-je* and *-esë*, such as *shkrim* “writing”, *martesë* “marriage”, and *lindje* “birth”. Albanian has lost this feature.

2. Developments present in Arbëresh in opposition to Albanian. For example the vigesimal system was lost in Arbëresh while Albanian has retained it, thus Albanian: *njëzet* “twenty”, *dizet* “forty”, *trezet* “sixty”, *trezetedhjet* “seventy”, *shtatdhjet* and *katërdhjet* “eighty”;

In the verbal system the differences are:

1. Innovations in Arbëresh in opposition to Albanian, such as:
 - a. analogic diffusion of the aorist tense ending *-ta* and the plural form *-tim* (*lajta* “(I) washed”, *pijta* “(I) drank”, *shkrúajta* “(I) wrote”, *erhthim* “(we) came”, etc...). This characteristic is common to Southern-West Tosk varieties, whereas standard Albanian has *-va -a*;
 - b. due to a grammatical calque on the Italian system, there is the construction of the passive through the verb *vinj* (the Italian translation is *vengo*): *vjen thritur*, (Italian translation *viene chiamato*, that is *si chiama* “he is called”). Albanian does not possess this type of construction;
 - c. in Albanian there are two forms to express a future action: *kam* plus the present tense of the indicative form, *do* (“(I) want”) plus the present subjunctive. There are differences between them, from a functional point of view: the form with *do* expresses will, the form with *kam* expresses necessity. However, the future with *kam* is more used in Geg particularly in the North, while the future with *do* is more used in Tosk and in Southern Geg. Arbëresh has both the future forms, even though a form with *kam* plus subjunctive, expressing necessity, is commonly used;
2. Evolution in Albanian in opposition to Arbëresh archaic forms, such as:
 - a. interdialectal innovation in the sigmatic aorist tense: in the first person singular of the sigmatic aorist tense the form with the suffix *-s* (*-shë*) has disappeared, becoming the same as the second person singular, such as *lë* “(I) left” instead of *lashë*, and *pë* “(I) saw” in place of *pasë*;
 - b. the opposition between the present and the participle in the verb classes ending with a liquid was levelled: *sjell* “I bring” and *Kam sjellë* “(I) have brought”, *tjerr* “(I) spin” and *kam tjerrë* “(I) have spun”.

1.2.3.3. Standard Albanian vs Arbëresh: lexicon

Comparing Arbëresh and Albanian from a lexical point of view, we have the following:

1. Arbëresh words which have the same meaning as in Albanian: *burr(ë)* “man”, *trim* “boy”, *wash(ë)* “girl”, *gur* “stone”, *dhi* “goat”, *dele* “sheep”, *lop(ë)* “cow”, *mal* “mountain”, *vesh* “ear”, *si* “eye”, *nip* “nephew”, *at(ë)* “father”, *mëmë* “mother”, etc, and in the Italian loans: *këndonj* “(to) sing”, *inteligjent* “intelligent”, *ai* “he”, *ajo* “she”, *ashtu* “so”, *atje* “there”, *bashë* “together”, *bath(ë)* “fava”, *bes(ë)* “fidelity”, *bisht* “tail”, *bosht* “board”, *brënda* “inside”, *bri* “horn”, *bërril* “arm”, *ca* “some”, *cënonj* “(to) hit”, *gjizë* “ricotta”, *gjumi* “sleep”, *i gjall(ë)* “alive”, *hëna* “moon”, *i holl(ë)* “until”, *jasht(ë)* “outside”, *jav(ë)* “week”, *jam* “(to) be”, *kam* “(to) have”, *karkalec* “cricket”, *kasht(ë)* “straw”, *katund* “country”, *këmish(ë)* “shirt”, *kejo* “this (feminine)”, *krunde* “bran”, *krip(ë)* “salt”, *kush* “who”, *laqurik* “naked”, *lakër* “cabbage”, *lesh* “wool”, *morr* “common louse”, *moti* “time”, *muaj* “month”, *mir(ë)* “well”, *mua/mue* “to me”, *marr* “(to) take”, *mbes(ë)* “grandchild”, *na* “we”, *ndonjë* “same”, *ngërhem/ngrëghem* “(I) wake up”, *ngrohëm* “(to) warm oneself”, *po* “yes”, *pres* “(to) cut”, *pi* “(to) drink”, *puth* “(to) kiss”, *qep(ë)* “onion”, *qime* “hair”, *qiqërr* “chick-pea”, *qull* “polenta”, *rë* “cloud”, *zë* “voice”...
2. Arbëresh words which can be found only in some conservative and isolated Albanian varieties, such as in some Tosk dialects of Western areas or in some Northern Geg varieties: *tëtimë* “cold”, *u* “I”, *ve* “eggs”, *di* “two”, *bilë* “daughter”, *kopilje* “girl”, *val/ valj* “oil”...;
3. Words common to Arbëresh and Albanian in form, which have undergone semantic changes in Albanian where Arbëresh preserved the old meaning: *presh-i* which means “wart” in Standard Albanian, whereas in some Arbëresh varieties it means “sty”, *gjellë* means “food” in Albanian and in Arbëresh it means “life”, *tirqit* means “trousers for farmer” in Albanian, whereas in the Arbëresh variety of Calabria it refers to any type of trousers;
4. Words which exists only in Arbëresh and not in Albanian: they are mostly loans from Italian, such as *dhopu* from the Italian *dopo* “then”, *mjedhuku* from the Italian *medico* “doctor”, *kërdhiringj* from the Italian *credere* “to think”.

5. Arbëresh words which underwent a change in gender following Italian example: *kështjellë-a* feminine in Albanian, while *kështjell-i* masculine in Arbëresh from the Italian *castello* “castle”, *kryq-i* “cross” masculine in Albanian, whereas in Arbëresh it became feminine *kryqe-ja* like the Italian *croce*, *shëndet-i* “health” masculine in Albanian, while in Arbëresh it is feminine *shëndet-a* like the Italian *la salute*.
1. Nevertheless, 40% of their lexis, constituted by the most common words, is identical or similar²¹, making them mutually intelligible in daily life conversations²².

I.2.4. NUMBERS OF ARBËRESH PEOPLE IN ITALY

It is not easy to establish the number of Arbëresh people in Italy. Today, there are no official data, at a national level, about the number of Italian citizens speaking a minority language. The only figures regarding minority groups come from the censuses of 1861, 1901, 1911 and 1921. The following is a summary of the census results carried out in Arbëria²³:

Table 5 Censuses from 1861 to 1921

Census	1861	1901	1911	1921
Percentage of speakers	92.1%	80.6%	85%	85%

Since 1921, data about Arbëresh speakers have been collected in academic research only, although generally limited to a small number of communities, and not covering all Arbëria. However, in 1966 Rother carried out a national survey. According to him, 81.7% of the Arbëresh population was made up of people speaking the minority language. The rest was formed by people either monolingual in Italian or with a passive knowledge of it. Data about current Arbëresh vitality can be found in the public documents of the *Centro Internazionale sul Plurilinguismo*. According to these data, the number of Arbëresh people resident in Italy is roughly 100,000, and about 80,000 of them speak Arbëresh²⁴.

I.2.5. THE ARBËRESH COMMUNITIES IN ITALY

I.2.5.1. From the unification of Italy to the post-World War II period

Before the unification of Italy, the country besides showing political fragmentation, showed also linguistic fragmentation. Things did not change even after 1861. Italy was a mosaic of dialects and one of the early objectives in the nationalistic project was to achieve linguistic convergence within the group, so as to differentiate the national language from all the dialects which have been present on the territory. However, the nation builder's task was very hard to carry out in case of the language, since Italy was a mosaic of dialects and given the lack of linguistic cohesion within the nation. Massimo d'Azeglio's words: "Abbiamo fatto l'Italia, ora dobbiamo fare gli Italiani"²⁵ show that the process of nation-building was a hard task to achieve, being a construct not only linguistically but also as far as identity is concerned. The main problem is that the feeling of belonging to a nation was restricted only to an intellectual elite, as is shown by the fact that Italian was a literary based standard. This means that it was a language acquirable not in daily life, but was linked to education, reinforcing the situation of diglossia. However, the educational system was not widespread at the time of the political unification: in 1861 census 78% of the Italian population was not literate at all, and the main concern of the State was to spread at least primary education. However, the State's efforts were supported by deep social transformations which were, as Wright observes "intimately linked with changing patterns of language use which can be seen as being both cause and effect within the nation-building process" (Wright 2004: 37). From the post-unification period until the second post-war period, Italian society had been dominated by strong centrifugal forces, spreading from the centre to the periphery: industrialisation, urbanisation, spread of education, of means of transport and mass media, together with immigration are to be recognised as the core causes of the gradual shift to Italian. At the beginning of the 20th century, the concentration of industries in Northern areas and the block of transoceanic immigration favoured migration from the depressed Southern areas to the north of Italy. This social development has a twofold effect: on the one hand it was the cause of the spread of standard Italian - children and even adults went to school to acquire Italian, since Italian was a prerequisite for education and training and therefore for employment of almost every kind; on the other hand the strong migratory movement depopulated several

Southern areas. In other words, Italian was seen as a means to get a better economic position and to earn more money. Moreover, industrialisation and urbanisation caused a change in the nature of work: most people from the South worked as peasants, or were children of peasants becoming now workers particularly in the industries; while the spread of education favoured social mobility. On the one hand the standard language could be available to all social classes, but on the other, the changing the nature of work for many parents meant that their children could go to school, which in the past they were not able to do because of the need for workforce to work the land. Moreover, the spread of newspapers had as a side effect on the one hand the diffusion of standard Italian and on the other hand they were a successful tool in creating a national identity. These social transformations changed the linguistic repertoire, in the sense that the dichotomy between Italian vs non-standard varieties with the former in subordinate position had seen reversed position: the latter was in a subordinate position, while the former language functioned as a medium to communicate within all the nation. Knowledge of Italian was a helpful and an economically advantageous resource, but it was seen in opposition to non-standard or minority languages, as a symbol of group identity and the primary language. We have to wait until the second half of the 20th century to have an almost complete linguistic cohesion throughout Italy, and a common sense of national identity, rather than a regional identity as was felt before.

As far as the Arbëresh community is concerned, until the first decade of the 20th century, Arbëresh enclaves were in a situation of diglossia between Arbëresh and the regional Romance variety, with the former in a dominant position. The developments linked to nation-building involved the Arbëresh community as well, even though according to Gambarara, Arbëresh enclaves were only partially affected by the deep changes Italian society underwent: *“Nel 1951, quando la generazione del dopoguerra imparava a parlare, su una cinquantina di centri albanesi della penisola, solo 18 avevano un locale di ritrovo (cinema o teatro, e solo 13 una locanda o un albergo. Quelli raggiunti da una strada statale erano 10 e quelli con la stazione ferroviaria nel centro 2. Infine solo 4 (Lungro, San Demetrio, S. Giorgio, Spezzano) avevano una scuola elementare nel territorio comunale. La percentuale degli analfabeti nella popolazione sopra i 6 anni era in Calabria del 31,7%, e in Basilicata del 29,1%, in Puglia del 24%, in Campania del 22,8%, in Abruzzo e Molise del 19%”*²⁶ (Gambarara 1994: 45). This “separation” from the rest of Italy was due to the Arbëresh communities’ geographical remoteness, which favoured the maintenance of the original language, but it caused also

a strong migratory movement towards the North, mostly of young speakers. However, from a linguistic point of view, the former situation of diglossia was replaced either by a diglossia, Italian vs Arbëresh, or more often by a triglossia, Italian vs regional variety vs Arbëresh, with Arbëresh in a subordinate position. With the diffusion of mass media, all boundaries which prevented the spread of the Italian language were lowered, particularly those previously imposed by illiteracy. Indeed, since the 1930s with the spread of talking movies, the Arbëresh population, too, was exposed to standard Italian. Gangale (1976), analysing the Arbëresh communities of Calabria closely, depicted the situation of this period with these words: *“Ma la famiglia arbyresh è da secoli demoralizzata, complessata, invasa da allogeni e alloglotti. E’ comprensibile perciò che in molti punti dell’arcipelago arberesco, la famiglia per uscire da una situazione creata da enti alieanatori e per la quale essa non sa altra uscita, fa da sé il suo karakiri, il suo genocidio”*²⁷. (Gangale 1976: 27). Arbëresh, like any other minority and non-standard language, started being perceived by its speakers to be an objective obstacle to realising their social aspirations, whereas the national language was felt to be an instrument for cultural awareness and social affirmation. Therefore, Italian was not seen only as a means of earning money, but Arbëresh speech communities accepted the higher prestige of Italian and scorned Arbëresh because they were attempting to adopt Italian way of life and values. It is worth remembering that the linguistic situation in the Arbëresh communities is not all the same: there is a continuum of vitality of the language together with the value attached to it as a symbol of group identity which ranges from Villa Badessa in Abruzzo to Macchia Albanese in Sicily. The speakers from the former village are monolingual in Italian, adopting Italian values and way of life²⁸; while in the latter region the vitality of the language is very high together with the value attached to it as a symbol of a distinct specificity²⁹.

I.2.5.2. A renewed scientific interest: the second half of the 19th century

It was in this period that a renewed scientific interest in Arbëresh language and culture could be observed. Indeed, Albanian started being taught at the Universities of Calabria, Bari, Palermo, Roma and Lecce, several Arbëresh cultural associations were born, meetings, debates, congresses were organised, local journals were published. Among these initiatives, the birth of the U.C.I.A. (*Unione delle Comunità Ialo-Albnesi*) in 1969 was particularly significant. It is a political group, formed by intellectuals and by the representatives of 18 council administrations, which played an important role in the

institutional field, particularly for the recognition of the regions with a special charter in 1968.

The cultural movement in Arbëria was reinforced by several initiatives aiming to introduce the teaching of Albanian in primary and secondary schools, such as the A.I.A.D.I. (*Associazioni Insegnanti Albanesi d'Italia*), the C.P.I.A. (*Centro di Promozione Insegnamento Albanese*) and the *Centro glottologico greco-albanese* in S. Demetrio Corone (Sicilia). However, thanks to individual teachers' efforts, standard Albanian was taught sporadically and not during lesson hours. For this reason Solano claims that the Arbëresh communities are the expression of a "lame bilingualism": "*Se è vero che l'italo-albanese attraverso i suoi studi acquista padronanza della lingua e della cultura italiana, non gli capita lo stesso per quanto riguarda la lingua e la cultura Albanese. Nei confronti di questa egli rimane sempre analfabeta*"³⁰ (Solano 1994: 76). This bilingualism is as unstable as the Arbëresh culture situation: "*Si è definita la situazione culturale degli italo-albanesi come biculturalismo che è instabile tanto quanto il loro bilinguismo che è appunto "zoppo" o instabile perché tanto più cresce e migliora la diffusione e la conoscenza dell'italiano, tanto più regredisce quella dell'albanese. In questo senso l'accrescersi del coinvolgimento alla cultura dominante nazionale può essere visto come pericoloso decrescere dell'autonomia locale o come violazione di un diritto dell'uomo alla sua cultura e quindi alla sua lingua. Questo bilinguismo è appunto instabile perché le comunità italo-albanesi sono, come si dice in gergo tecnico, "parlate" e non "parlanti" l'italiano; perché non si mette cioè in comune il sapere e il lavoro linguistico italiano e il sapere e il lavoro albanese*"³¹ (Callari, Galli & Harrison cit. in Pellegrini 1994: 120).

Chapter I.3. policy

Italian linguistic

Italian policy towards linguistic minorities is expressed in art. 6 of the Constitution: “*la Repubblica tutela con apposite norme le minoranze linguistiche*”¹. However, the application of the Constitutional provision has been regulated by different regional legislative measures. In accordance with general European and International principles, the law 482/1999 “*Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche*”² filled this absence, but even so several theoretical and practical problems continue to impede its enforcement.

I.3.1. EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The language rights movement has been very active in Europe and several actions were taken by different European institutions. The first signs of interest in the future of the Communities’ regional and minority languages appeared in the European Parliament with the pioneering of *Arfé resolution* on a communitary Charter of regional languages and cultures (16th March 1981). Since it was not within the competence of the European Parliament to order a member state government to take any particular action in this field and it had to limit itself to calling on them to adopt certain measures. The Arfé Resolution called on the member state governments and on regional and local authorities to enact a number of measures to support and promote regional and minority languages particularly in the domains of education, mass communication, public life and social affairs. However, it was possible to create an organisation which could act on behalf of minority languages: the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages, established in 1982 and financed mostly by the Community.

The next major initiative on behalf of lesser used languages in the European Parliament came in the form of a report and resolution prepared by Willy Kuijpers. The Kuijpers Resolution on the languages and cultures of the Regional and Ethnic Minorities was more ambitious and wide-ranging than the original Arfé Resolution.

While more or less respecting the division of domains as outlined by Arfé, it went into greater detail on specific actions which might be taken in different areas. Later, the Commission and the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages established Mercator, a network of three research and documentation centres dealing with the regional and minority languages spoken by the citizens of the EU. In 1990, John Hume tabled a new motion for a resolution calling for another report on languages. This time the rapporteur chosen was Mark Killilea. The report itself differed from the earlier Kuijpers and Arfé Reports in that it focused very much on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages which had been accorded the status of an international convention by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 1992. However, none of these resolutions is legally binding.

The most relevant actions were undertaken by the Council of Europe with two important documents: the Framework Convention for the protection of the national minorities – which came into force on the 1st of February 1998 - and the European Charter for regional and minority languages - deliberated on June 23rd 1992, but coming into force, in the first five states which ratified it, on March 1st 1998). The former defines the main principles of government actions, monitoring the safeguards provided by the state structure to protect rights. Moreover, according to it, implementation of policy and practice in all the states which have signed the Convention is observed and overseen by the Council of Europe. It is a generic document in the sense that even though there is a high degree of linguistic freedom, no concrete plans for action are included in it. This is what is provided by the European Charter, which promotes the use of regional or minority languages in education and the media and urges their use in administrative and judicial settings and in all activities involving economy, social and cultural life. The States which signed up to the Charter should introduce the minority languages in a minimum number of functions across these categories. However, very few states have so far signed up to enact norms to guarantee the language rights the Charter provides: the introduction of the minority languages in certain formal domains is a real revolution for several governments.

I.3.2. LAW 482/1999

I.3.2.1. General overview

The last two decades have seen an intensification of initiatives aiming to establish a national law about the maintenance of minority languages: *“L’approvazione di una legge relativa all’insegnamento in Albanese nelle elementari e all’uso dell’albanese alle medie e nei “media” di più ampia diffusione, rappresenterebbe comunque un successo di incalcolabili conseguenze, uno strumento che cambierebbe profondamente il giudizio implicito e l’atteggiamento emotivo dei parlanti nei confronti delle lingue minoritarie, garantendone la vitalità dall’interno delle stesse istituzioni repubblicane*³ (Savoia 1994: 62). Indeed, by teaching Arbëresh bilingualism, considered to be the only way to save Arbëresh language and culture, could have spread. *“L’unico rimedio possibile contro l’assimilazione e la conseguente nostra aspirazione, è l’insegnamento della lingua albanese: che ogni albanese diventi un perfetto bilingue. Accanto alla lingua e alla cultura italiana, egli deve possedere, in eguale misura e livello, la lingua e la cultura albanese”*⁴ (Solano 1994: 81). Therefore, Arbëresh could have obtained a higher vitality status: *“L’insegnamento dell’Arbëresh e l’atteggiamento più giustificato sul piano teorico, dovrebbe valorizzare le condizioni di vitalità dell’ Arbëresh come lingua viva e effettivamente parlata, usata al pari di quanto avviene per ogni altra lingua che veicoli effettivamente condizioni comunicative all’interno di un gruppo sociale”*⁵ (Savoia 1994: 58).

After working its way slowly through Parliament⁶, following the example of both International and European legislation, on 15th December 1999 the national law 482/1999 about the maintenance and protection of the minority languages was passed. This law is the first normative moment in accordance with the provisions of the Italian Constitution⁷, a normative frame which arrived more than half a century late, and therefore could be considered a real historic reparation⁸.

I.3.2.2. The content

After confirming Italian as the national official language⁹, article 2 of the law proclaims: *“la Repubblica tutela la lingua e la cultura delle popolazioni albanesi, catalane, germaniche, greche, slovene e croate e di quelle parlanti il francese, il franco-provenzale, il friulano, il ladino, l’occitano e il sardo”*¹⁰. Therefore, the language and culture of those recognised minority communities are protected: their language can be used, as much as the Italian

official language, as a medium and/or object of education¹¹, by City Council officers¹², in official documents¹³, in toponymy¹⁴, in onomastics¹⁵, and by the media¹⁶.

In Appendix 1 both the law 482/1999 and the Presidential decree for its application are presented.

I.3.3. REASONS FOR A CRITICAL POSITION

Law 482/1999 is the end point of initiatives and proposals which aimed to establish a national law about the maintenance of minority languages. However, the problems behind the law - particularly those related to its application - are numerous¹⁷ and complex. They partly derive from the fact that disparate cultural, demographic and sociolinguistic situations were treated as though they were all the same, with the same forms of maintenance provided by the law for all the different minority communities of the national territory.

However, one of the main problems in the law's application concerns which linguistic variety should be used in schools, in formal domains and in official documents. This topic, with reference to Arbëresh, will be discussed in the following section. Moreover, a discussion about what it means when a government protects a "minority language" will follow.

I.3.3.1. Standard Albanian vs local varieties of Arbëresh

In the case of Arbëresh three possibilities exist: 1. to use standard Albanian; 2. to use local varieties of Arbëresh; 3. to use hybrid varieties of Arbëresh, that is koines created from closely related varieties. Some scholars¹⁸ support the use of local varieties of Arbëresh, producing a further situation of diglossia, between Albanian, the standard code, and the local varieties of Arbëresh, its non-standard varieties. Nevertheless, this way seems to be in line with what art. 1 sub-section 3 of the decree for the law application proclaims: "*la lingua ammessa a tutela è il modo di esprimersi dei componenti della minoranza linguistica*"¹⁹. However, this choice seems to be appropriate only to those communities where the local variety of Arbëresh is the primary language²⁰, which is an obsolete situation now.

On the other hand, Altimari (2003: 230) believes that the use of Albanian is the only choice in accordance with the provision of the law: “*il codice verbale della comunità minoritaria anche in riferimento alla comunità nazionale di origine e alla sua lingua comune e condivisa*”²¹. Hence, in his view, the problem regarding the variety to be used has a mere didactic character. Indeed, as discussed above, from a linguistic point of view, the differences between Arbëresh varieties and standard Albanian are not so marked as to define Arbëresh an *Abstandsprache*. However, even those scholars who stress the importance of using Albanian in schools find the linguistic gap between Arbëresh and Albanian not easy to fill.

To take an example, Altimari (2003) claims that in schools three stages should be undertaken. In the first stage the local variety will be used in the oral and written form; the second stage will be based on a contrastive study between Arbëresh varieties and standard Albanian, aiming to show their unitary base; in the last stage the *Dachsprache* of the Arbëresh varieties, i.e. Albanian, will be used. However, the final stage has as its object not standard Albanian, but a “common” Albanian. This, based on the standard code, will have a certain normative flexibility, given that features of all the Arbëresh varieties, not present in standard Albanian, will be included in it, that is “*quei tratti – fonologici, morfologici, sintattici e lessicali – più unitari e comuni, che non rientrano nella lingua standard odierna e pertanto non normativi, che l’Arbëresh d’Italia condivide, sul piano diacronico con la lingua albanese antica e con l’Arbëresh di Grecia, e, sul piano sincronico con i due dialetti storici dell’albanese, prevalentemente con il toscano, ma talvolta anche con il ghego*”²² (Altimari 2003: 238). This common Albanian is the language used in *Udhëtimi*, a textbook published in 2000 which is a part of a three-stage project carried out in Piana degli Albanesi (Sicilia)²³. This primary and secondary school textbook was elaborated by three local authors, together with a scientific committee (Altimari was one of the members). However, it is unclear what norm the book represents: clearly not Arbëresh grammar, nor Arbëresh vocabulary, but not Albanian either. Indeed, Arbëresh people find it very difficult to understand the language used in the textbook, because of the natural tendency of the authors to fill the Arbëresh linguistic gaps with forms of standard Albanian. The result is a mixture of features from Arbëresh and Albanian²⁴. Therefore, even Altimari, who favoured the use of standard Albanian in schools, took part in the elaboration of a textbook which is the expression of a mixture between standard Albanian and the local variety.

According to Derhemi (2002), the mixture is due to the fact that Piana Arbëresh has lost several forms which standard Albanian has maintained. According to her, using standard Albanian in the written form, while maintaining the local variety in an oral form, is a possible way to proceed. The result might be that the written code, after being used in schools for some years, will naturally fill the linguistic gaps of Arbëresh. The reasons for her choice are related to the current conditions of Arbëresh and Albanian: firstly, Arbëresh, having lost several linguistic traits, “needs a normative form to help the community to create a correct model at almost every linguistic level”; secondly, due to a severe functional restriction, the use of Arbëresh might be very limited in most domains, whereas Albanian meets all the speakers’ communicative needs. She concludes saying: “the contribution of Albanian, as I see it, will consist mainly of reconstructing the grammatical structure of the language, which has a very similar base. The lexical interaction, where the differences between the two languages are greater, is secondary and can proceed very gradually. The goal is not a merger of the two, but rather the use of Albanian elements to support the reconstruction of Arbëresh” (Derhemi 2002: 27).

The use of standard Albanian in schools seems to be the easiest route to follow, since the “cost” of using a language which is alive and ready for use is lower than the cost of reconstructing an endangered linguistic system. Indeed, as Toso claims: *“storicamente, quindi, il concetto corrente di minoranza linguistica resta di fatto legato non solo alla valutazione in astratto di una marcata specificità linguistica, ma anche all’esistenza di uno standard di riferimento”*²⁵ (Toso 2003: 271); and the Italian government does not aim to maintain the local variety, but *“al riconoscimento dell’appartenenza delle popolazioni ad un contesto culturale e “nazionale” che si esprime in uno standard linguistico diverso da quello dello stato di appartenenza”*²⁶ (Toso 2003: 271). Hence, the problem concerning the distance between the minority language and its reference standard is not the main concern for a government, because, following Toso, the concept of minority language is linked to the existence of a national setting which is the expression of a standard language. This is in line with what Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer claim, that in language endangerment situations, “if literacy is taught, it should be standard and consistent” (1998: 90).

Chapter I.4. Arbëresh communities in Molise

This chapter deals with the Arbëresh communities of a Southern Italian region, namely Molise. After setting them into their historical background, the sociolinguistics of three Arbëresh communities of the region - Campomarino, Portocannone and Ururi - which are the focus of the present research, will be presented.

I.4.1. ARBËRESH ARRIVAL IN MOLISE

After an appeal by the King of Napoli Ferrante I and Pope Pius II, the Bishops of Larino, owners of the fiefdom of Ururi, encouraged the settlement of some Arbëresh groups which had arrived in the kingdom as exiles, mostly during the second migration wave¹. The fiefdom of Auroram, as Ururi was called, destroyed by a terrible earthquake in 1456, was assigned to the Arbëresh people by Monsign. De Misseriis in the second half of the 15th century. The new inhabitants rebuilt the village, named by them Ruri, and later on some of them moved to the Biferno and Fortore areas, establishing the villages of Portkanuni (Portocannone) Këmarini (Campomarino) and Munxhfuni (Montecilfone)²: *“Gli Albanesi in gran parte contadini e pastori, nel Molise sono stati sistemati in un primo tempo, nelle vicinanze di Larino, in località di Civitella, e anche a Guglionesi, poi, per ragioni varie e anche religiose, sono stati distribuiti a Portocannone, Ururi, Montecilfone, Campomarino e Chieuti”*³ (Tria 1774:352).

The Arbëresh communities in Molise devoted themselves to agriculture and cattle breeding, while the noblemen, trained in the art of war, kept fighting for the Kingdom of Napoli, getting favors as a reward. For all the other Arbëresh people almost nothing was done in order to improve their conditions. Whether privileges were granted or suppressed depended on the specific attitudes and strategies of different feudal lords and bishops. Furthermore, the negative relationships with other inhabitants of the region aggravated their situation: the difference in language, culture and religion

was the source of several misunderstandings between them, and forms of racism from Italians towards Arbëresh people⁴.

It is for this reason that the Arbëresh areas did not remain in the same baron's hands for long. The extreme consequence was reached in 1550, when all houses in Ururi were burnt down, and Arbëresh population was driven away, whereupon they asked for hospitality from their neighbours of Portocannone, Montecilfone and Campomarino. Finally, in 1561 the fiefdom of Ururi was assigned to an Albanian captain, who encouraged the repopulation of Arbëresh people in the village.

At the end of the 17th century the Arbëresh people were required to convert to the Latin Rite by Monsign. Catalani's Episcopal Government, an event breaking an important link with their native culture, but opening a new chapter with the "Latin people", who started seeing Arbëresh speakers as less different from themselves.

I.4.2. THE ARBËRESH ENCLAVES IN MOLISE

Four Arbëresh enclaves are present in Molise - Campomarino, Portocannone, Ururi and Montecilfone - as can be seen in the following figure:

Figure 2 Arbëresh enclaves in Molise



I.4.3. THE RESEARCH AREAS

Three villages in Molise, i.e. Campomarino, Portocannone and Ururi, form the focus of this research. In this section, the available data about Arbëresh speakers in the

three villages, together with geographical and economical information about them, will be presented.

I.4.3.1. Numbers of Arbëresh people

The first census of the Italian State did not include the Arbëresh areas in Molise. The following table reports the results of the 1901, 1911 and 1921 censuses, together with Rother's data of 1966⁵:

Table 6 Data from 1901 to 1911

	1901			1911		
	Arbëresh speakers	Families	%	Arbëresh speakers	Families	%
Campomarino	308	381	80.8	360	383	94
Portocannone	463	505	91.7	499	508	98.2
Ururi	838	838	100	885	891	99.3

Table 7 Data from 1921 to 1966

	1921			1966		
	Arbëresh speakers	Citizens	%	Arbëresh speakers	Citizens	%
Campomarino	1177	1464	80.1	2032	3076	54.8
Portocannone	2030	2034	99.8	2500	2773	90.1
Ururi	3798	3814	99.6	3206	3710	86.4

While in the first two censuses the percentage of families speaking Arbëresh is similar in the different villages, a comparison of the Campomarino data of 1921 and 1966 shows that, in less than half a century, the number of citizens increased massively and the number of Arbëresh speakers steadily decreased.

I.4.3.2. Geographical and economical information

Campomarino is situated on the coast, being one of the most popular seaside resorts in Italy. It is 8 kilometres from Termoli and 57 kilometres from Campobasso, capital of the province. Its population of 6758 citizens (2001 census), doubles during the summer when people from the surrounding and the northern regions reach the place to holiday there in the summer months. It is an important port for tourism and fishing. It is crossed by the highway "Adriatica" and by the motorway A 24, which link the North to the South of Italy. A railway station is present where national and international trains go through. Two schools are in the centre of the village: in the former there are classes

of the nursery, the primary and secondary school, in the latter there are high school classes. Most Campomarino citizens work in the industrial area of the town, some of them are involved in tourist activities and others work the land, the main activity until the second half of the 20th century.

Portocannone has a population of 2515 citizens (2001 census). It is situated about 64 kilometres from Campobasso, 7 kilometres from the sea, and 5.8 kilometres from Campomarino. It is on a small hill, ideal for several types of cultivation, particularly olive growing, making Portocannone one of the most important producers of olive oil in the area. This rural area is crossed by a road to the inland. There is one school, with classes of the nursery, primary and secondary school. A high school does not exist and students are obliged to commute to the high school of Campomarino and those of Larino, and Termoli. Most Portocannone people work the land, while others commute to the industrial area of Campomarino, 9 kilometres away.

The town of Ururi, with a surface of about 31.44 kmq, has a population of 3074 citizens (2001 census). It is situated at 264 meters above sea level, 69 kilometres from Campobasso, and 11 kilometres from Portocannone. There is one school with classes at nursery, primary and secondary level, while students of the high school have to commute to Campomarino, Larino, and Termoli. Its economy is based on agriculture and construction, and some residents work in the industrial area of Termoli.

I.4.3.3. Arbëresh life until 1997

As discussed above, the last century saw several gradual changes in Italy. However, the social transformations only partially affected the geographically remote region of Molise. If on the one hand, this favours Arbëresh maintenance, on the other, it was the cause of a huge loss of speakers, because of a migratory movement towards the industrialised area of the North. Moreover, it is worth noting that in the region the spread of education was very slow, since primary school was not established until 1958, while the secondary school was opened only in 1961, but this does not mean that the whole of the Arbëresh community had the possibility to go to the primary school: after World War II only men were allowed to go to school, whereas women did not have any schooling. However, the attendance of the primary school was not sufficient to reach a good proficiency of standard Italian, and boys were not allowed to receive a further level of education because of the need of workers to work the land.

The last years of the 1960s saw a national policy based on the suppression of non-standard varieties and minority languages, considering them to be an obstacle for the acquisition of Italian and, therefore, for social emancipation⁶. Indeed, Arbëresh-speaking students were punished, and some of them were failed for speaking Arbëresh at school. Therefore, on the one hand, there was the official pressure for standard Italian, and on the other hand, intra-community life favoured the use of Arbëresh. This was mostly due to its agriculture-based economy: the fertile lands favoured farming and allowed most Arbëresh crofters to become owners of the land they were working. Moreover, Arbëresh communities were closed to the outside world, even in the case of marriages: endogamy was the norm, whereas exogamy was seen as a “cultural betrayal” by other members of their group. As a result, their primary language was still considered a symbol of group identity. It is mainly for this reason that despite the variables that usually lead to convergence - media, national education, transport infrastructure - the Arberesh retained their specificity.

As is clear from Rother's data, in Campomarino, Arbëresh vitality was much lower than in the other two villages. Arbëresh language was less and less important for the community, mainly due to its geographical position: a location which favoured tourist activities caused the demise of intra-community life.

The second half of the last century witnessed a growing and energetic movement aiming to reverse the linguistic convergence in several Western societies. All established traditions seemed to be under attack, including nationalist ideology. This movement involved the academic world, where several researchers and scholars turned their attention to the social, economic and political effects of language contact. Moreover, the massive migration of the second half of the 20th century had an immense effect on language behaviour, as large numbers of speakers of diverse languages came into contact. There was a greater desire to maintain the language of the country and full linguistic assimilation was often rejected. A very active group of scholars such as Tollefson, Ricento, Hornberger, and Dorian was concerned with the issue of bilingualism and multilingualism among migrant groups and suggested alternatives to the assimilationist policies of the past. As a result some governments revised their policies and abandoned the strong form of assimilation and began to view the various origins of their immigrants as a potential resource and the maintenance of the linguistic

and cultural traditions as an opportunity rather than a threat. This ethnic revival as a general reaction to nation-building was felt in Molise, particularly in Ururi. Several young men, after coming back from the North of Italy where they receive higher education, gave birth to an association which dealt particularly with topics related to their Arbëresh origin. They tried to spread the idea of the importance to maintain Arbëresh language and culture, in fact in 1967 the journal *Gjuha jone-e bakur* came out with its first issue. It was partially bilingual, and covered several aspects of Arbëresh life of the communities in Molise, but after one year, due to a lack of funds, it ceased publication. In 1968, the same association started publishing another bilingual journal, *Giellë*, but again the lack of funding led to its premature death one year from its birth.

Nonetheless, the following decade saw a decreasing interest in Arbëresh language and culture, mostly due to the introduction of Italian into all layers of society, the massive spread of secondary education, of media and all modern means of communication. The main difference with the past was that new generations started started accepting the higher prestige of Italian, even though members of the old and intervening generations continued valuing their group identification very highly.

The first signs of a renewed interest in the use of Arbëresh appeared at the start of the 1990s, particularly in schools. In the school year 1990/91, due to individual teachers' initiatives, Arbëresh culture started being taught in the secondary school of Portocannone, but not during ordinary hours. This initiative was followed by some experimental courses in Albanian held in the secondary schools of Portocannone and Montecilfone. However, the lack of competent teachers and the difficulties in recruiting them without special funds caused their end led to the demise of these courses.

I.4.3.4. Current situation

The regional law 15/1997 about the maintenance and the protection of Albanian and Croatian⁷ minorities was approved in 1997. Following art. 6 of the Italian Constitution - "*La Regione Molise valorizza e promuove il patrimonio culturale delle minoranze linguistiche storicamente presenti nel territorio, quale elemento non secondario della cultura molisana*"⁸-. The region of Molise promotes and supports initiatives aiming to maintain the two linguistic minorities. One of the forms of protection regards the teaching of the two languages in schools, during lesson hours if possible, otherwise after school: "*La Regione sostiene e finanzia i programmi di studio delle lingue croata ed albanese nelle scuole materne, elementari*

*e medie dei Comuni in cui sono presenti le popolazioni alloglotte. Ove non fosse possibile inserire lo studio delle lingue croata ed albanese nel normale orario scolastico, sarà cura della Regione Molise collaborare con i Comuni, con i loro Consorzi e le Province interessate e che vengano organizzati dei corsi pomeridiani. Tali corsi si terranno nei locali delle scuole, previo assenso dell'autorità scolastica, o in altra sede idonea*⁹.

The journal *Kamastra*, whose subtitle is *Riviste Arbereshe per Kulture dhe aktualitet* started being published in Montecilfone¹⁰. It is a bimonthly bilingual information source, about current events of the Arbëresh areas in Molise.

In the scholastic year 1997-1998 the school “D. Gravino” in Portocannone elaborated a hyper-text *Ururi in CD-Rom*, where the Arbëresh historic, ethnic and linguistic tradition were considered to be the characterising element of their society.

Regulated by regional law, extra-curricular courses of standard Albanian were run in the secondary schools of Montecilfone, Ururi and Portocannone during the school year 1998-1999.

After the law 482/1999 was passed in Montecilfone, Portocannone and Ururi, courses of Albanian were run both for students and for adults¹¹. Which language variety to teach, i.e. standard Albanian or the local variety, creates a problem for the teachers, and was the reason why most of the adult students abandoned Albanian courses. The Heads of School of Portocannone and Ururi noticed that the extra-curricular Albanian courses for school-children, being compulsory and giving extra-marks to the students were more “successful” than those for adults¹².

During the school year 2002-2003 the project *Si ziejëm Rur* “how people cooked in Ururi” was carried out. Its final step was the publication of a research project, based on interviews with elderly Arbëresh speakers about traditional recipes.

Thanks to regional and national financial support, training courses for local teachers are held, with the aim of providing a contrastive analysis between standard Albanian and the local Arbëresh variety.

It is worth mentioning that what the region of Molise is doing in order to maintain Arbëresh historic, cultural and linguistic tradition can be considered to be rudimentary, compared to the initiatives in Sicilia and Calabria, where several large-scale research activities are carried out by the Universities. In Molise, lacking University

support, the school "D. Gravino" of Ururi is trying to be the resource centre for all schools of the region, in the hard work of revitalization and promotion of the Arbëresh traditions. Here in the school year 2004-2005, Albanian courses will be run as a part of the curriculum, and where the students' and their parents' responses are positive, it will be possible to work for using Albanian as a medium of education, as suggested by the national Law.

Section II. Theoretical background

Chapter II.1.

Language death

After introducing the research area, this survey will present Sasse's model (1992), based on those patterns generally recognised to be recurrent in a situation of language decline and death. This will be followed by the analysis of three case studies, East Sutherland Gaelic, Arvanítika and Hungarian, which has a twofold aim: 1. to show that the focus of shared phenomena - which leads to models of language decline/death - often masks the fact that there are intriguing divergences from the typical scenario for language loss; 2. to draw differences and parallels with the case of Arbëresh.

II.1.1. THE RESEARCH AREA

The macabre anthropomorphic metaphor linguists have come up with, language death, describes a common phenomenon among minority languages both today and in the past¹: about half of the known languages of the world have disappeared during the last five hundred years and hundreds of languages are bound to die in the very next future. "[...] it is a very common phenomenon. In the last five hundred years about half the known languages have disappeared; hundreds of languages are in danger of becoming extinct by the end of the century. In Africa alone, nearly 200 languages are endangered"(Sasse 1992b: 7). According to Krauss' dire predictions (1992) over 4000 of the world's languages would have ceased to be spoken by the end of the last century. Therefore, this phenomenon does not have precise temporal and/or spatial localisation: "Extinction is a common enough phenomenon in the history of the world's languages. [...] Linguistic extinction, or "language death", to give a simpler and more metaphorical name, is to be found under way currently in virtually every part of the world [...]" (Dorian 1981: 1). Although it is a common phenomenon², the study of language loss is a relatively new and developing field, which has been emerging as a linguistic subdiscipline since the end of the 1970s. According to Dorian (1981), the delay in analysing this phenomenon is due to the "reluctance of the linguist or the anthropologist to work with imperfect speakers of a language who were also, by

implications, imperfect representatives of the cultural group in question” (Dorian 1981: 3).

The body of data both on linguistic aspects of language decay and death³ is extensive, as are comparisons between language death and pidginisation⁴ and language acquisition⁵. Today, there are various studies, which include information on socio-economic factors, historical events, linguistic and sociolinguistic details regarding different phases of a language in decline. However, as time passes, with the acceleration of the process, endangered languages have become a topic of great concern to linguists, and work on language endangerment and death has been accelerated over the last two decades⁶.

Most comparative works on threatened languages seek out general points of commonality between situations, rather than distinctiveness. By identifying recurrent patterns in the causes of language decline, such works have outlined both certain characteristics of speech communities - which leave them most susceptible to language loss - and the structural changes undergone by a language bound for death. According to the general pattern, underprivileged minorities are subject to political, economical, and social disadvantages, and show this condition in the usage and imminent changes of their language. Such a shift, which frequently leaves a dying language in its wake, is an aspect of sociocultural change, intimately linked to phenomena such as urbanisation, industrialisation and secularization, though not predictable from any of them. As a consequence of this, minorities internalise the bad connotations imposed on their group and their members may experience identity conflicts and disturbances. These may then induce the community to suppress a part of itself, in the process of onward transmission. To put it another way, multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low prestige language. Therefore, dying languages cease to be utilised for primary education and that is why in a context of language death, longitudinal studies are of primary interest.

However, focusing on shared phenomena often masks the fact that there are intriguing divergences from the typical scenario for language loss, such as the reasons why individual speech communities have resisted language shift against all expectations,

and why certain regions of the world do not fit into the general picture of language endangerment.

II.1.2. A MODEL OF LANGUAGE DEATH

On the basis of the data on obsolescent languages, particularly on the East Sutherland variety of Scottish Gaelic⁷ and on Arvanítika⁸, Sasse (1992) elaborated a model of language death named the Gaelic-Arvanítika-Model (GAM)⁹. He considers three types of factors to be distinguished in a language death context:

- Extra-linguistic factors: that is historical, sociological, cultural, economical, political factors which push a speech community to abandon their language. They form the “External Setting” (ES);
- “Speech Behaviour” (SB), that is the speakers’ language choice influenced by social variables;
- “Structural Consequences” (SC), changes undergone by the linguistic structure in a situation of language decay and death¹⁰.

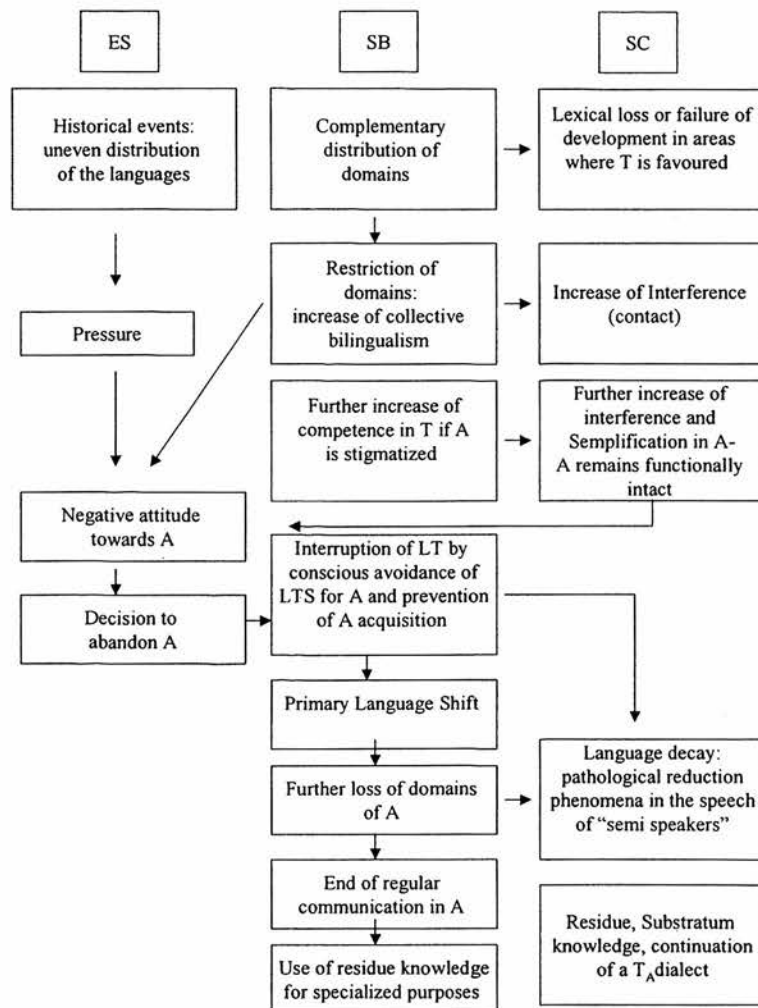
These three types of phenomena will operate in a bilingual context, where the “Abandoned language” (AL) is the language in a subordinate position, with respect to the “Target language” (TL). For political and/or economic reasons, the inequality of prestige of the languages becomes the source of strong social pressure, which may create negative attitudes towards the language of the recessive group, and lead to the decision to abandon it. “Uneven distribution of languages in a bi- or multilingual speech community always results in complementary distributions of the domains, which consequently leads to lexical loss or failure of lexical development in domains where the dominant language is favored. Due to the restrictions of domains, collective bilingualism increases, because the speakers are forced to learn the dominant language in order to use it in domains where the recessive language cannot be used” (Sasse 1992: 14). In this stage, interference and simplification may rise, even though the Abandoned language remains intact from a functional point of view. The situation starts changing when most of the bilinguals shift from the Abandoned language to the Target language as their primary medium, with the result that A becomes secondary. This shift is often caused by the end of language transmission from one generation to the next, mainly due

to the development of speakers' negative attitudes towards the language, mostly regarding its usefulness¹¹. "This period is characterised by a phenomenon called language decay, [...] a serious linguistic disintegration which is typical for the speech of so called semi-speakers, i.e. that speaker generation which results from the interruption of language transmission" (Sasse 1992: 15). In other words, semi-speakers show an imperfect knowledge of the Abandoned language. This may include defective morphology, absence of some grammatical categories, together with a deep insecurity over communication skills. Phonetics and phonology only seem not to be affected. The linguistic impoverishment has a kind of feedback on the speakers' socio-psychological evaluation, since their language fails to serve high prestige functions, or indeed the unifying role for the in-group and the function of separating them from the out-group. This is the cause of several psychological problems: as long as the Abandoned language is present in their environment, semi-speakers feel frustrated. A kind of collective linguistic pathology arises, on the basis of which many semi-speakers avoid speaking in the language they are not completely confident with, causing, paradoxically, an acceleration of the death of the Abandoned language.

The next step corresponds to the complete death of the language, which, in Sasse's view, happens when regular communication has ceased. Moreover, after its death, the language could leave residues: it can still live as a ritual language, a professional jargon, a secret language, and when a codified version of the language exists, it can be used for ritual or other purposes. A deep residue could represent a substratum of certain varieties of the Target language, which are spoken by the speech community of the Abandoned language.

The model can be summarised as the following (from Sasse 1992: 16):

Figure 3 A language death model



ES = External setting
 SB = Speech behaviour
 SC = Structural consequences
 A = Abandoned language
 T = Target language
 LT = Language transmission
 LTS = Language transmission strategies
 T_A dialect = dialect of T with a substratum of A

In other words, the model presents three stages:

1. Primary language shift: the Target language becomes the primary language, and the Abandoned language the secondary. This process involves either the entire speech community or the majority of it;
2. Language decay: emergence of semi-speakers (members of the generation following the language transmission break), with imperfect knowledge of the Abandoned language;
3. Two outcomes are possible:
 - a. Language death: end of communication in the Abandoned language;
 - b. Language replacement as substratum phenomena, that is the birth of a variety of the Target language, based on a substratum of the Abandoned language.

II.1.3. CASE STUDIES: EAST SUTHERLAND GAELIC, ARVANÍTIKA AND HUNGARIAN

II.1.3.1. Introduction

The presentation of these three cases has a twofold aim: since the decline process of East Sutherland Gaelic and Arvanítika are the basis of the model put forward by Sasse, who quite confidently assumes that “the empirical findings of gradual death situations can in fact be fairly well generalized into a comprehensive model of “prototypical” language death (Sasse 1992: 23), the analysis of these two languages will help us to understand whether the events, leading to the decline of a language, or to the persistence of the underprivileged language, can be generalised, to the point that they can fit into a “prototypical” model. The shift which has occurred in Eastern Austria will show that it is possible to account for language shift not only by isolating the factors whose presence allows the shift, but rather by viewing it as an instance of socially motivated linguistic change. A discussion of the differences and parallels among these cases and Arbëresh will follow.

II.1.3.2. The life of East Sutherland Gaelic

The speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic¹² (ESG), a language which has been isolated from all the other varieties of Gaelic, are shifting to English, more precisely to a particular local variety of English. ESG was closely studied by Dorian (particularly Dorian 1981), who provided a fine-grained study of three fishing villages - Brora, Golspie and Embo - in Sutherland.

In the course of five hundred years, Sutherland was under four different powers: Pictish, Gaelic, Norse and Anglo-Norman. Gaelic, which arrived in the area as the language of a foreign culture, became the vernacular of the region and established itself in the area within two centuries. Even when Norse had political control, it was Gaelic which emerged as the local language in the area. Things started changing when, in the second half of the 13th century, the district passed under the rule of another foreign family, whose anglicized name was Murray, marking the passage to a different linguistic configuration of the area, particularly after the union of the English and the Scottish parliament, proclaimed by the Act of Union in 1707. From that century and several to come, there was a Gaelic-speaking tenantry, and an English-speaking aristocracy.

The local social and economic elite began to assimilate adopting English language and culture, to the point that the weight of cultural prestige shifted to English. The linguistic behaviour of the elite had a deep effect on the rest of the population, who imitated them, adopting the language of the dominant culture: a very common strategy for the social mobility of the masses. However, what is interesting in Dorian's study is her analysis of the dissimilarities in the speakers' behaviour, rather than the similarities. Indeed, she analysed an individual speech community, which had resisted language shift against all expectations, namely East Sutherland. The east coast of Sutherland is associated with the fishing industry, as the result of efforts by the small tenants, after the expansion of sheep farming into the Highlands at the beginning of the 19th century. Despite difficulties at the beginning, East Sutherland fishing developed rapidly, reaching its maximum development at the turn of the twentieth century. However, due to the difficulties experienced, the general feeling among the fishers was that their sons should be encouraged to find another job, because fishing was a high risk and a low yield enterprise.

It was in this period that Sutherland was opened to the dominant language and culture, English, and to the perceived feeling that English was the only language worth speaking. The isolated east coast of Sutherland had been preserving Gaelic since the period of the Clearances, but gradually things changed. The most important factor in the passage to the dominant language and cultural system was the power of the sheep farmers, monolinguals in English. This shift to English did not involve all the population at the same time: the first to submit to English were the crofters, while the fishers, a separate group associated with a distinctive occupation, were more resistant.

Indeed, at the time of her fieldwork, Dorian found that being a Gaelic speaker meant being of the fisherfolk. However, the ethnic marker of their identity was not the language they spoke, but rather a persistent lag in linguistic habits: when the rest of the population was already bilingual in Gaelic and English, they remained monolingual in Gaelic. The fishing communities were conspicuous for their lack of English, to the extent that, their Gaelic was judged pure, in a period where several English loanwords were coming into other varieties of Gaelic. The fishing communities were socially and physically isolated, and this preserved Gaelic as a distinctive language. In other words, "as English pressed in from the top of the social hierarchy and spread steadily downward, Gaelic retreated to the bottom and gradually became the hallmark of the rural poor – the crofters – and the 'urban' poor – the fishers (...) their social separateness was sufficient to allow them to remain distinctive in speech, as the way of life, into the twentieth" (Dorian 1981: 53). As a consequence, linguistically the fishers live about half a century out of step with the rest of the population. "Preceding the transition period were at least three centuries of stable stratified societal bilingualism in eastern Sutherland. During those centuries the mass of the people were monolingual in Gaelic: the aristocracy monolingual in English; and the clergy and some functionaries of one kind and another formed a small bilingual bridge within the society" (Dorian 1981: 94).

However, since Gaelic had become one of the behaviours, allowing the labeling of individuals as fishers, there was a tendency to abandon Gaelic, along with other fisher behaviour. Then, when the rest of the population became monolingual in English, the fishers started being bilinguals, remaining bilinguals anachronistically. The tendency to abandon English was, firstly, translated into a compartmentalization of the two

languages. English had no place at home and in religion at all, and Gaelic was completely excluded from the spheres of national institutions. Secondly, the language choice was associated with interlocutors - a fisher speaking to another fishing had to speak Gaelic - and had cross-generational boundaries within the family. Indeed, after the first World War several parents spoke Gaelic to one another, with their siblings, and with their own parents, whereas they spoke English with their children, and expected English from them. Therefore, several Gaelic-dominant bilinguals chose not to transmit Gaelic to their children, preferring to give them the possibility of operating in the modern English world, beyond the closed world of the fishing community. The result was that their children were passively bilingual in varying degrees, and they themselves agreed with their parents on the positive value of English, and the negative value of Gaelic for the rising generation. All these sociolinguistic norms were observed by the speakers, even by the youngest ones, who in the school domain, for example, had to observe the rule which excluded Gaelic from that domain. Punishments, even by the family, followed when the sociolinguistic norm was not observed.

A full shift to the dominant language takes place under such circumstances: "The home is the last bastion of a subordinate language in competition with a dominant official language of wider currency. An impending shift has in effect arrived, even though a fairly sizable number of speakers may be left, if those speakers have failed to transmit the language to their children, so that no replacement generation dies away. The pattern of the shift is almost monotonously the same in diverse settings: the language of wider-currency is recognised as the language of upward mobility, and as soon as the linguistic competence of the parents permits, it is introduced into the home" (Dorian 1981:103). This means that "present day East Sutherland bilingualism is transitional, or unstable. It is only the last stage of a general transition from a nearly universal monolingualism in Gaelic to nearly universal monolingualism in English. [...] On the basis of evidence from the two Statistical Accounts, it can be assumed that the transition period began during the first half of the nineteenth century. It will close with the death of ESG in the early decades of the twenty-first century (assuming healthy life expectancies) even the youngest of today's semi-speakers¹³ will be disappearing from the scene. (...) The operative model has always been replacing, rather than additive, bilingualism" (Dorian 1981: 94).

II.1.3.3. Arvanítika and the language death process

The Albanian speaking communities of Greece, bilingual in Arvanítika and Modern Greek, are descendants of the Albanian immigrants, who formed their first settlements around the 14th century. The communities represent a southern migration of a unified south Tosk origin, which must have had no contact with other northern communities, since the time of the migration to Greece. The Arvanítika speech community, under the orders of various Frankish rulers, filled the need for people who could devote themselves to the cultivation of fields and to military service. Arvanítika was generally employed within the community, for almost all spheres of communication up until the decade 1940-1950, when the gradual shift to Greek started taking place. This shift was accelerated particularly after the World War II, and the civil war of 1949. Since then, the overall modernization of Greece has proceeded rapidly. Massive transportation, the mechanisation of culture, the advance of technologies in communication systems and elsewhere, and compulsory primary Greek monolingual education have developed in a way, that pushed previously isolated communities towards greater integration and urbanisation. From a psychological point of view, the counter-part of these changes in the society, together with the imposition of the Greek model, was the emergence of negative linguistic attitudes among the Arvanítika communities towards their distinct language, equally shared by fluent and terminal speakers¹⁴. Tsitsipis (1983a: 293) summarises the whole set of linguistic attitudes as follows:

- Arvanítika is a bastard language not worth saving;
- other localities other than the speakers' own speech community used a deeper or less hellenized variety regardless of actual geographical distances or of objective dialectal differences;
- children should have not been instructed in Arvanítika since its learning interferes with a proper acquisition of competence in Greek.

Fluent speakers, who underwent the social transition of modernisation, provided an interesting contrast with young terminal speakers, with regard to linguistic attitudes, since they reflected an important ambivalence. The kinds of attitudes the speakers have form a socio-psycholinguistic continuum: for the old speakers, Arvanítika still operates as a medium of communication in the intra-community sphere, and intra-generational

use was much more prevalent than inter-generational use; transitory speakers present ambivalent linguistic attitudes; terminal speakers present completely negative attitudes towards the language.

These factors constitute important parameters for the acceleration of the sociolinguistic shift, but “capitalist transformations are interrelated with other changes that give depth to the interpretation of shift and allow us to explain in interesting ways linguistic performance, linguistic ideology, and discourse at the local level” (Tsitsipis 1998: 10) ¹⁵. As Tsitsipis notices together with the capitalist transformations, it is essential to think about the emergence of Greek State, and Greek nationalism. The principle “one nation, one language”, caused a new relationship between Greek, the ancient language, and any other language spoken in the national territory. The middle class’ aim was to assimilate the members of the Arvanítika communities by teaching them Greek. It is what Hamp (1978: 155-64) called “self deprecation”, on the basis of which people speaking Arvanítika accepted the supremacy of Greek, with its ancient heritage, “unflinchingly and happily”. What Tsitsipis was told in a very conservative community was that Arvanítika is not a language at all, since it is not written: “it was damned by the Lord, since the Holy Scriptures have been translated into Albanian but not into Arvanítika” (Tsitsipis 1998: 26). In other words, present day speakers incorporate in their ethnolinguistic ideology not only genres and uses, but also modalities, such as the written status of the language. Obviously, this ethnolinguistic ideology was due to the ideological interference of Greek educational discourse. As Tsitsipis claims, what led to the speakers’ self-deprecation was a process of “subordination” and not oppression, indeed, no Arvanítika uprisings against Greek nation were reported. For example, the Arvanítes, people speaking Arvanítika, were proud to be among the first to fight against the Ottomans, to liberate Greece. “Historians are unanimous in accepting the idea that a common Christian faith and a largely shared Balkan culture provided good grounds for the development of non-antagonist relations” (Tsitsipis 1981: 4).

According to Tsitsipis a third factor, named “heteroglossia”, played an important role in the context of shift¹⁶ (1998: 12). At the end of 1936, outspoken nationalistic propaganda was promoted, and the position of linguistic minorities came to the centre of national consciousness: a rather peaceful coexistence of languages in a pre-

industrial context, gave way to a conflict in which one linguistic system was viewed through the eyes of another. Arvanítika, the language used for communicating among the Arvanites, was now seen as opposed to Greek, the national language expressing distance and power in a more marked way (Brown and Gilman 1960: 253-76). In other words, speaking Greek was a way to express the feeling of belonging to the Greek state. The result was that the Arvanítes were forced to face the problem of Greek dominance, and thus to undergo a deepened heteroglossic awareness. "This appears to have led to a determination on the part of those who have experienced [discrimination] that their children will not suffer in the same way because they will speak Greek" (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 174-5). Therefore, in addition to the official linguistic ideology of nationalism, a thread of popular discriminatory attitudes can be discerned, which promoted further subordination through self-deprecation.

To summarise: Arvanítika speakers' linguistic ideology can be understood through the interrelations among the development of a capitalistic economy and the categories of self deprecation, subordination and heteroglossia. These are to be recognised to be the deep causes of the shift to Greek.

II.1.3.4. Hungarian in Eastern Austria

The town of Oberwart in Eastern Austria, is one in which after 400 years of Hungarian-German bilingualism, German has almost completely replaced Hungarian, not only in business, and in other formal domains, but in all everyday interactions. This shift in progress has been recorded by Gal (1979) who accounted for the shift which has occurred in Oberwart, viewing it as an instance of socially motivated linguistic change. These Hungarian speakers are the descendants of the indigenous inhabitants of five agricultural villages first settled a thousand years ago in the middle of Austria's easternmost province. The five villages have remained stationary while the boundaries of the empires and states have fluctuated around them: at the beginning of the last century they became citizens of Austria, then of the German third Reich and now Austria again. Only during the last century did the Hungarian speakers of Oberwart become the minority.

At the time of Gal's survey (Gal 1979) all Hungarian speakers were bilingual in German and all were peasant agriculturalists or the children of peasants. Gal noticed that the distinction between Hungarian speakers and German monolinguals was evident

also from a material point of view: the Hungarian speakers, lived in two identifiable parts of Oberwart – the Calvinists in *Felszeg* and the Roman Catholic in *Alszege*¹⁷, where also the houses revealed social distinction with the rest of the population living in *Schuldenberg* and *Hauptplatz*. The former group lived in traditional houses of peasants like those all over western Hungary, while the latter group lived in modern ones. As Gal pointed out, what is striking, however, was the way in which the people themselves revealed social distinctions: the Hungarian speakers, both Calvinist and Roman Catholic, were different from the rest of the population in the sense that while the latter were professionals, bureaucrats and intellectuals, the former were peasants and workers. Moreover in *Schuldenberg* and *Hauptplatz* people were more educated and richer than in *Felszeg* and *Alszege*. This distinction was present also for their children: while children from *Schuldenberg* and *Hauptplatz* usually went to an academically demanding school which prepares them for the University, the Hungarian-German bilingual children usually attended trade schools or the mandatory high school. This means that there was a linguistic distinction, together with an economic and cultural distinction between the two groups: people living in *Schuldenberg* and *Hauptplatz* were considered rich, educated, in other words prestigious. This division dates back to the 19th century when Oberwart passed from a peasant village to a socially diverse commercial center, causing first of all the increase of the population, but not an increase in the natives, but it saw an establishment of a German-speaking Lutheran group, a small Jewish community and other Catholics. It was for these new-comers, religiously and linguistically distinct from the natives that in Oberwart there was the foundation of three schools and three churches. Moreover, they created also a new economic stratification, because they came to Oberwart to work as merchants, tradespeople, artisans and bureaucrats, rather than as peasants. The town's prestige hierarchy consisted of the Hungarian peasants on the bottom and a rich, artisans-merchant class of German Lutherans at the top. A symbolically important dichotomy was formed: the rich local elites spoke German, the peasants were bilingual and were the only ones to speak Hungarian. However, the peasant agriculture was still present, together with the land-centered value system associated with it. Only since World War II have industrial, commercial and bureaucratic jobs become available and economically preferable to peasant agriculture. In fact, since the war upward mobility through wage labour has become possible for several peasants and their children. Hence, knowledge of German was a prerequisite for

education and training and therefore for several jobs: "They now accept the higher prestige of German and scorn Hungarian because they are adopting the values and way of life of the German speaking Austrian center" (Gal 1979: 63).

Gal showed that Oberwart's language shift coincide with the social changes that have occurred in Oberwart in the last century, i.e. the growth and diversification of the city and a recent period of unprecedented prosperity and economic expansion in Austria. Both have drawn Oberwart's young people away from traditional peasant agriculture and into industrial work. However, the effect of these changes on strategies for language use in particular domains was felt only indirectly, when they caused a change in Oberwarters' evaluation of their languages and in the processes maintaining older patterns of language choice. Specifically, language shift began when German gained prestige because choosing it, as opposed to Hungarian, came to symbolise the speaker's claim to worker rather than to peasant status. Speakers started to present themselves as workers and not peasants in everyday conversations as their social networks changed, weakening previous constraints to claim only peasant identity in speech. The choice between German and Hungarian symbolises the social and cultural contrasts between the peasant and modern worker, thus reflecting the economic and social changes which have occurred in Oberwart. Gal observed that within language choice there is variation between speakers as well as in one person's use with different interlocutors. The identity of the speakers and that of the interlocutors are sufficient to predict language choice in the majority of instances. Moreover, there is a systematic relationship between the choices of any one speaker with a particular interlocutor and the pattern of a group as a whole. The ranking of interlocutors along a dimension of "peasant-Austrian urbanite" reveals the implicational relations among one's person choices: if Hungarian is used at all it is used among interlocutors ranked toward the peasant end of the continuum. In sum Gal showed that it is through their effects on the shape of social networks and on the status of speakers that macrosociological factors can influence the language choice of speakers in everyday interactions.

II.1.4. DISCUSSION

As discussed before, the presentation of these case studies has a twofold aim: 1. to show that the focus of shared phenomena – which leads to models of language

decline/death - often masks the fact that there are intriguing divergences from the typical scenario for language loss; 2. to draw differences and parallels with the case of Arbëresh. In order to reach the first aim I have described the fates of East Sutherland Gaelic and Arvanítika, since they are the basis of Sasse's prototypical model, showing that the events which lead to the decline of a language are disparate, so much so that each case might be considered to be unique. The events which lead to the decline or to the persistence of an underprivileged language cannot be generalised to the point that they can fit into a "prototypical" model. It is for this reason that I claim that these models, although designed to assess the likelihood of the process of language decline and death, should in fact be restricted to use as a tool for describing situations of complexity without any explanatory value being attached to them.

In the case of speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic and of Hungarian, the language was an ethnic marker: for the former community, speaking Gaelic means being of the fisherfolk, while for the latter, speaking Hungarian means to be a peasant. It is when the community tried to lose this marking and the social separateness it entailed, recognising the prestige value of the dominant language, that the shift occurred. Hence, the shift was related to the question of prestige an analogous situation with what will be found in the case of Arbëresh.

One might expect that the fate of Arvanítika is similar to that of Arbëresh, in view of the common characteristics linking the two languages. However, the respective relation with the matrix society caused the fate of one language to be different from the other. As seen in the previous section, the Italian government is tolerant towards the presence of minorities within the state, as is expressed in art. 6 of the Constitution, whereas in Greece there was no space for the minorities, in view of the nationalistic idea of Greek as "the language".

Chapter II.2. The Social psychology of minorities

This chapter deals with those factors which could account for the death of minority languages. Among them, intergroup behaviour is of great relevance. This is the core point of "Social Identity Theory" (Tajfel 1974, 1978) which will be presented together with the various strategies which might be pursued in order to achieve a positive self-concept. Moreover, the relative "prototypicality" of members within a group, and the inter-groups relations will be defined in the context of "Self-Categorization Theory" (Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1994, 1998). Subsequently, the process of nation-building will be analysed in the light of the resulting minorities' identities (Wright 2004). Finally Bourdieu's idea of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1982, 1986, 1991) and the concept of "language as core value of culture" (Smolicz 1988) will be discussed, trying to understand their role in the process of language loss.

II.2.1. SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

II.2.1.1. General overview

Social Identity was initially defined by Tajfel himself as "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (1978: 63). In other words, the theory does not aim to perpetuate the myth of the asocial (as if isolated) individual but instead to understand how social realities influence and interact with psychological processes. Bringing the self and the group together, the theory provokes new attempts to address the long-standing problem of the relationship between the group and the individual, between the social uniformity of group life and individual psychological processes (Tajfel & Turner 1986; Turner and Oakes, 1986). The theory is concerned with the relative hierarchization which people impose on themselves, particularly the contrast between members of in-groups and out-groups. In this light, it is assumed that people are motivated to evaluate themselves

positively, and that insofar, as a group membership becomes significant to their self-definition, they will be motivated to evaluate their own group positively. In other words, people seek a positive social identity. Since the value of any group membership depends upon comparison with other relevant groups, positive social identity is achieved through the establishment of positive distinctiveness of the in-group from relevant out-groups. Throughout the 1970s, Tajfel argued consistently against individualistic perspectives of intergroup behaviour. He rejected the idea that problems of social conflict are explicable in terms of individual pathology, personality differences or interpersonal processes. Intergroup attitudes and stereotypes are large-scale social phenomena, formed and held in common by people as members of social groups, socially shared and socially diffused representations of their intergroup relationships, developed as normative group products within, and as a function of the larger-macro social context. In other words, what the social psychologist can do is, on the one hand, to ascertain the “shared interpretations of social reality” held by group members, and on the other hand, to ascertain such shared perceptions of intergroup relations, in combination with the perceived location of groups within the particular social system. This is why Tajfel explains that the theory cannot be reduced to an “intrapersonal” need for self-esteem or solely to the psychological sequence of “social categorization – social identity – social comparison” (Tajfel 1979: 184 cit. in Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1998: 91).

II.2.1.2. Individual mobility and group assimilation: linguistic strategy

Social Identity theory is a dynamic perspective which has the potential for explaining ethnolinguistic change: a negative social identity would act as a motivating factor in social change, as a means for reaching a more satisfactory social identity. In the case of a dominant group, it is likely that it has satisfactory conditions for its social identity, and the aim of its members will be to maintain these positive conditions. The lower position of the subordinate group does not seem in and of itself to be a sufficient motivation to initiate changes in the social structures: its social status has to give rise to psychological conflicts before any change is initiated. A positive ethnic identity is achieved to the extent that groups members can make social comparisons with respect to relevant ethnic out-groups in their favour. When social comparison with an ethnic group on valued dimensions results in negative ethnic identity for in-group members, Tajfel and Turner (1986) propose that group members will adopt one or more strategies,

in order to achieve a more positive in-group distinctiveness. They detail specific conditions under which different strategies - individual mobility, social creativity, social competition - might be pursued. The extent to which individuals perceive the current intergroup status relationships to be legitimate or illegitimate, and stable or unstable, are seen as important determinants of group members' actions (Tajfel 1978).

What is important for the purpose of the present work is the analysis of a particular strategy, "upward mobility", which has important linguistic correlates. This is the strategy undertaken by individuals who wish to pass out of the group which is causing them so much comparative discomfort, into a more positively valued or more economically advantageous one, usually the dominant ethnicity. To this end, they will attempt to acquire, or at least aspire towards, the physical and psychological characteristics of the dominant group, and thereby, secure for themselves a more adequate social identity. This strategy is most likely to be used by group members, possessing a negative ethnic identity, when intergroup boundaries are perceived as soft and permeable. Moreover, group members will perceive the overall hardness of their boundaries in relation to those of another group through social comparison and will then act accordingly. Hence, the harder the ethnic group boundaries are perceived to be, the more strongly in-group members will identify with the group, and the more likely ethnolinguistic differentiation will occur in between-group settings. Whereas the softer the group boundaries are perceived to be, the more likely emigration will occur, and the lower the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group is likely to be. In other words, group members will perceive the overall hardness of their boundaries in relation to those of another group, through social comparison and will then act accordingly. An important tactic for individual upward mobility in such a situation is, of course, the convergence towards the linguistic characteristics believed typical of the ethnic out-group, and hence the accentuation of the out-group's speech markers. Large members of the in-group, acting in assimilationist terms, can give rise to collective consequences, finding expression in the erosion or even death of the in-group's language, or as it might be more appropriately termed, language suicide (Giles & Johnson 1981: 219-220).

The strategy of upward mobility is not always ultimately a successful means for attaining a more satisfactory social identity. Indeed, rather than producing the desired effect, it might instead lead to anomie, and to a loss of cultural distinctiveness for those

members who still value their ethnic group membership, and consider language as an important dimension of it. At the end, individuals who attempt to pass into the dominant group are often stigmatized as “cultural traitors” by other members of their own group, who value their group identification very highly. On the other hand, the dominant group could not accept the subordinate group, even after attempting to assimilate their characteristics, to the detriment of their own psycholinguistic distinctiveness. Nevertheless, it is possible that members who wish not to pass into the dominant ethnic group, aspire to use their ethnic speech markers to enable them to qualify for membership of another social category, which would provide them a more satisfactory group identity.

II.2.2. SELF-CATEGORIZATION THEORY

Turner uses the concept of Social Identity to provide insights into the social psychological basis of group formation, and develops a more general theory of group processes, “Self-Categorization Theory”. In the present study these aspects of the theory will be considered:

- ❑ categorization provides the fundamental basis of our social orientation towards others;
- ❑ the definition of the relative “prototypicality” of members within a group and the inter-groups relations (Turner & Oakes 1989; Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1994, 1998);
- ❑ the level of inclusiveness, at which and the degree to which one categorizes self and others as similar or different, varies with the social context within which comparison takes place.

II.2.2.1. Social categorization and social identity

At the beginning of 1980s Turner saw the opportunity for a more causal analysis. He noticed that minimal social categorization appears capable of producing all the usual symptoms of psychological group formation. Subjects might not even know which other persons are in their group. Group formation does not seem to reflect, but rather to cause attraction between people: people like others not as individuals, but as

members of the same group. Turner proposed a “tentative and provisional theory of group behaviour in terms of an identity mechanism” (1984: 526 cit. in Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1998: 92) distinguishing social identity (“self definition in terms of social category memberships”), from personal identity (“self description in terms of personal or idiosyncratic attributes”), and gathered evidence of situational variations in self-concept, functioning to suggest that “social identity is sometimes able to function to the relative exclusion of personal identity” (Turner 1984: 527 cit. in Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1998: 93). Further, he asserted: “the adaptive function of social identity ... is to produce a group behaviour and attitudes ... it is the cognitive mechanism which makes group behaviour possible”(Turner 1984: 527 cit. in Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1998: 923).

The important casual process is categorization. He suggested that the accentuation effects, which accompany its operation, influence self-deprecation in the same way as demonstrated in the perception of others. In other words, the functioning of a social categorization in the self-concept produces self-stereotyping: “Self-stereotyping produces the depersonalization of the self, i.e., the perceptual interchangeability or perceptual identity of oneself and others in the same group on relevant dimensions. It is this cognitive redefinition of the self – from unique attributes and individual differences to shared social category memberships and associated stereotypes – that mediates group behaviour” (Turner 1984: 528 cit. in Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1998: 93). In this light, group phenomena could be explained as caused by social categorization of the self.

Thus, Social Identity became the repository for the representation of group facts, and the application of our knowledge, about the functioning of categorization processes, helps to explain just how social identity transforms individuals into psychological group members. Therefore, what characterised Social Identity theory - the emphasis on categorization processes and their importance in self-conception, is developed by Self-categorization theory, making its most significant contribution in considering that self-conception reflects self-categorization, the cognitive grouping of the self as identical to some class of stimuli in opposition to others. Self- categorization might be at various levels of abstraction, related by class inclusion: a given self-category (e.g. “scientist”) is considered to be more abstract than another (e.g. “chemist”), but the other cannot contain it (all chemists are scientists, but not all the scientists are chemists).

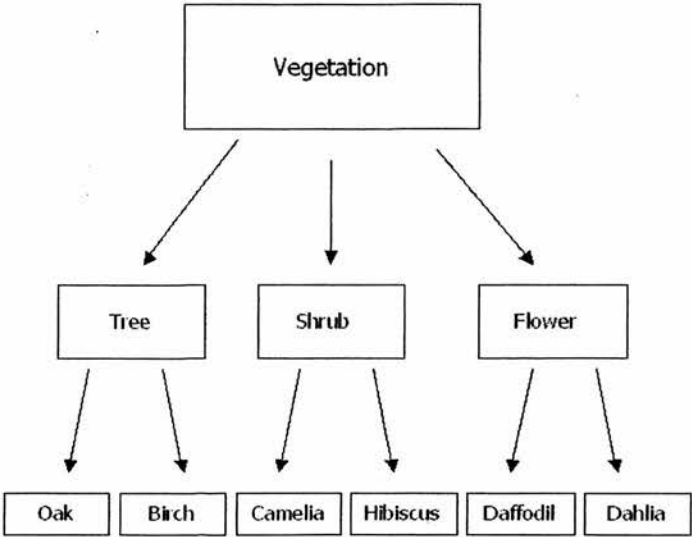
In conclusion, although the theory's original mission was to explain the psychological basis of the social group with a theory of processes, underlying psychological group formation, it might be more appropriately introduced as "a general analysis of the functioning of categorization processes in social perception and interaction which speaks to issues of individual identity as much as group phenomena" (Oakes, Haslam and Turner 1994: 94). As Turner and Oakes (1989: 270 cit. in Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1998: 94) put it, "the theory should not be understood as an argument for the primacy of the group over the individual. It is called self-categorization theory [...] because it deals with the interrelation of personal and social, individual and group, and asserts the interdependence of individuality and shared, collective identity. [...] The theory proposed that the group is a distinctive psychological process, but in so doing it reminds us that group functioning is a part of the psychology of the person, that individual and group must be integrated psychologically before there can be an adequate analysis of either".

II.2.2.2. The concept of prototypicality

Self-categorization theory makes its most significant contribution in the analysis of the categorization process functioning in terms of its antecedents and its outcomes. This contribution starts with the assumption that categorization is a dynamic, context-dependent process, determined by comparative relations within a given context. Therefore, in order to predict categorization, it is necessary to consider the entire range of stimuli, rather than isolated characteristics of the stimulus. This is the core point of the "meta-contrast" principle, according to which a contrast between contrasts, a judgement of differences between differences are involved in the process of categorization. To put it in other words, a set of items is categorized as a single entity "to the degree that differences within that set of items are less than the differences between that set and others within the comparative context" (Oakes, Haslam and Turner, 1994: 96). Therefore, the classic idea, according to which categories form on the basis of intraclass similarities and interclass differences, is slightly transformed. Indeed, contextualising categorization, categories depend on intraclass relative similarities and interclass relative differences. To give an example, considering the system of natural categories, a piece of vegetation would be categorized as "tree", rather than "vegetation", to the extent that the differences between "trees" are less than the

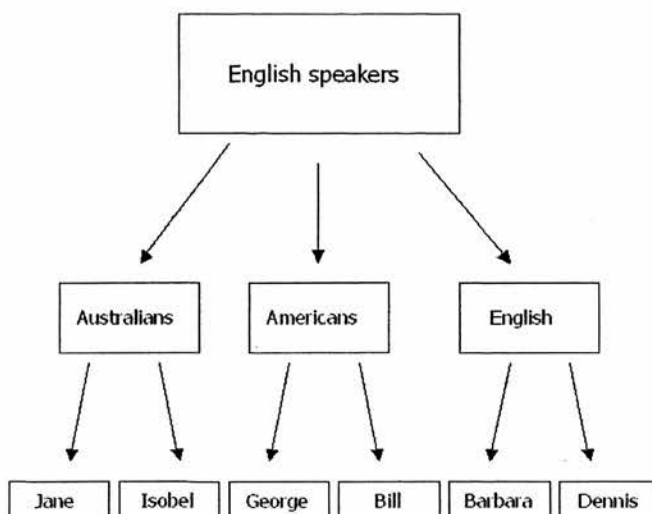
differences between “trees” and “shrubs” in a given comparative context. This will be the case if the distinction between “trees” and “shrubs” is more marked and more relevant, than are the features that “trees” and “shrubs” share as “vegetation”. On the contrary, the “tree” might be categorized and perceived as “vegetation”, to the extent that differences between types of vegetation are less than differences between “vegetation” and, for example, “animals”. This is shown in the following figure (taken from Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1994: 96):

Figure 4 A categorical hierarchy of vegetation



The meta-contrast principle can be applied to person perception too, describing the comparative relations between stimuli, which lead them to be presented by a category. Considering the following hierarchy (taken from Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1994: 97), an individual might be categorized as “Australian”, to the extent that, in this comparative context, the differences between Australians are less than the differences between “Australians” and “Americans”. On the contrary, the salient category might be “English speakers”, in a context where the difference between various English speaking groups is less than the difference between English and non English speakers.

Figure 5 A categorical hierarchy of English speakers



Therefore, describing the comparative relations between stimuli, the theory explains the salience of a particular category as a representation of a set of stimuli, and as a function of an interaction between its relative accessibility, and the “fit” between the category and the reality.

However, categorization is not universal: people who are perceived as different in one context could be recategorized and perceived as similar in another context, without any real change in their positions. This is the core point of categorization: it is a cognitive grouping process which transforms differences into similarities and the other way round, providing the fundamental basis for our social orientation towards others.

Changes in the comparative context produce, as a consequence, changes in in-group/out-group relationship, and on the other, they can affect intra-category structure. Hence, the relative prototypicality of members within a group can be defined through the meta-contrast principle. To put it generally, the more a group member differs from out-group members, and the less he or she differs from other in-group members, the more that person will be perceived as prototypical of the group. Therefore, relative prototypicality depends upon both inter and intra-group comparisons and “it will vary along with variation in the intergroup context in which judgements are made” (Oakes, Haslam and Turner 1998: 80).

II.2.3. NATION-BUILDING. MINORITIES AND IDENTITIES

The following sections will illustrate some of the elements fundamental in the process of nation-building, with a particular reference to the effect that it has on minorities' identities.

II.2.3.1. Nation-building and language

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries the idea that each national group is unique and needs its own state to be truly authentic was central for numerous groups. In the 19th and 20th centuries Europe was constituted by mosaic of states: "frontiers became real barriers, and people were separated from each other by borders that became increasingly difficult to cross. Each state had its own national market, labour force, mass culture, army and system of values. This separation was not only physical but psychological too, as nationalism became the dominant ideology. Patterns of identity had changed. At the height of the nationalist period people saw their main loyalty as being to the nation, that is to a much more extensive group than had been the case in the past" (Wright 2004: 36-37).

The economic system became competitive internationally, while within the state it was cooperative. This was favoured by the links which were promoted intranationally thanks to the abolition of internal controls and tolls, and it caused labour mobility. The feeling of national identity which developed within the nation states made it possible to mobilise the whole nations in its defence: because the state provides social welfare, justice and defence, "it may be worth individual sacrifice to ensure its survival" (Wright 2004: 38). Another important agent of nation-building were the national newspapers, because they "allowed the members of a society to come together in a virtual community [...] they fostered nationalistic sentiment, they treated their readers as a cohesive and they promoted the standard language" (Wright 2004: 39). The governments, in general, made conscious efforts to promote feelings of community and solidarity through organisations of national celebrations, the elaboration of national ritual and symbols. This means that nationalists themselves knew that primordialist nationalist theory which claimed the existence of a national group, was a construct.

An early objective in the nationalistic project was thus to achieve linguistic convergence within the group and to differentiate the national language from all allied

dialects on the continuum: the nation builder's task was very hard to carry out in case of language, because of the lack of linguistic cohesion within the dialect continua. This need in linguistic homogenisation was not felt in the past: "Feudal and Absolute monarchs do not need a linguistically cohesive population; decrees and orders could be handed down from on high to subjects through the bureaucracy and where there is linguistic difference a small group of bilingual bureaucrats can ensure communication. Linguistic diversity is a different matter in any polity when the people move from being subjects to being citizens. Where the people are to be consulted on matters of state and where a consensus has to be achieved on the direction these matters will take, there have to be the two way channels of communication. Democracy and nationalism appear to be in a dialectical relation [...] because nationalism can help create the cohesive community of communication that democracy seems to need" (Wright 2004: 31).

A central role in the nation-building process was played by the national language: on the one hand it became the medium of communication so that the nation could function efficiently in both political and economic life; on the other a unified language could promote cohesion, and develop a national culture. The language became the symbol of belonging to the nation and being part of it, hence refusing knowing and speaking it was a way to refuse the community. The development and economic consolidation which were among the consequences of the nation-building functioned also as a way of promoting and consolidating the national language. Industrialisation was one of the major agents in the linguistic unification: industrialisation requires an education system which ensures the basic level of skills and, as state institution, its medium is the national language. At the same time it promotes linguistic convergence: industries attract people from various parts of the nation, becoming linguistic melting pots. In fact, in the industrialised areas the shift to the national standards was much more likely than it was in other areas. The linguistic outcome was twofold: "ideologically use of national language became a patriotic act [...] practically, defence of the nation gave the reason and the opportunity to use the national standard rather than the local dialect" (Wright 2004: 38). Hence, these developments were intimately linked with changing patterns of language use which can be seen as being both cause and effect within the nation-building process. In conclusion, "the elaboration and spread of a national language provided the community of communication necessary for the functioning of the nation state and was an important element in the construction of national identity.

Linguistic unification was both planned and unplanned, often occurring as the side effect of other nation-building strategies or simply as a spin-off of economic or political actions, not conceived primarily to contribute to linguistic convergence [...] whether consciously willed or not, the achievement of a community of communication was central to all nationalism and nation-building” (Wright 2004: 41).

II.2.3.2. Minority groups and identity

Linguistic convergence and language shift can be considered to be part of the process of nation-building. It is because of nationalism that small groups come to be seen as minorities and it is because of the overall process of nation-building that minorities are forced to become bilingual or to shift language, but where they assimilate they lose their particularity and distinct identity. Small groups which were incorporated into nation state, but remaining distinct from the national group from a cultural and linguistic point of view, they are often disadvantaged because of their marginal position. “Where the other languages/dialects present on the territory of the state survived to the pressures of nationalism, they mostly retreated to the private domain, were not taught in the schools and were not permitted in any contact with the state. At the very least use of other languages in place of the state language was disbarment to employment and inclusion in state life and if the government sees it as an act to defiance to the state it could occasion persecution” (Wright 2004: 44). It was unlikely that the governments of the old state nations would encourage the separate development of language and culture within their borders, in the light of the concept of homogenisation and centralisation.

Language is a robust marker of group membership and one that is not easily changed. It is one of the strongest markers of identity because there are cognitive as well as psychological barriers to be overcome when individuals shift language. In the case where immigrants assimilate linguistically to the dominant group it is unlikely that they maintain their identity. However, it may happen that even in cases of linguistic accommodation other factors can ensure a distinct identity, i.e. religious practices or other cultural maintenance in dress and diet. However, generally in cases of “a complete loss of the original language of the group in a situation of migration this must affect identity, because new language behaviour will affect patterns of contact. [...] It is to recognise that patterns of association are central to identity formation. [...] Where individuals acquire the medium that opens the door to other groups diverse contacts

and different influences it is difficult not to accept that identity will be altered. Very few who become members of new networks and who are exposed to new ideas will not change their perception of their identity in some way” (Wright 2004: 227).

II.2.4. BOURDIEU AND GROUPS’ BEHAVIOUR

In the next sections Bourdieu’s concept of “habitus” and of “cultural capital” will be analysed. A discussion of what sort of cultural capital the Arbëresh communities possess will follow.

II.2.4.1. The concept of *habitus*

In the analysis of individual into the social context, Bourdieu conceives of every area of human activity as a socially charged field where the players are instances of what is termed habitus: a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, attitudes and perceptions which are not coordinated or governed by any rule. The dispositions constituting the habitus have three characteristics: they are inculcated - dispositions are acquired through a gradual process of inculcation -; structured – the dispositions reflect the social conditions within which they are acquired -; durable – the dispositions endure through the life of the individual and operate in a pre-conscious way -; generative and transposable – the dispositions can generate a multiplicity of perceptions in fields other than those they were originally acquired. Moreover, the habitus orients the actions of each individual, but without determining them, giving the individuals a sense of what is appropriate or not in each circumstance. A person’s habitus cannot be fully known to the person, as it exists largely within the realm of the unconscious and includes things as visceral as body movements and postures, and it also includes the most basic aspects of thought and knowledge about the world, including about the habitus itself.

A large part of the concept of habitus is that it brings attention to the fact that there are limitless options for action that a person would never think of, and therefore those options don’t really exist as possibilities. In normal social situations, a person relies upon a large store of scripts and a large store of knowledge, which present that person with a certain picture of the world and how she or he thinks to behave within it.

II.2.4.2. Three forms of capital

According to Bourdieu, when the individual acts he or she always do so in specific social context or settings. It results that particular practices or perceptions should be seen not as the product of the habitus as such, but as the product of the relation between the habitus and a specific social context. The social context, or the field or the market, in his terminology, is a space of positions where the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or capital.

Bourdieu expands the notion of capital beyond its economic conception which emphasises material exchanges, to include “immaterial” and “non-economic” forms of capital, specifically cultural – knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions -, and symbolic capital - the accumulated prestige or honour. One of the most important properties of the field or market is the way in which they allow one form of capital to be converted into another, in the way, for example, that certain educational qualifications can be cashed in for lucrative jobs. An individual’s social capital is determined by the size or their relationship network, the sum of its cumulated resources (both cultural and economic), and how successfully the individual can set them it in motion. According to Bourdieu, social networks must be continuously maintained and fostered over time in order for them to be called upon quickly in the future. Finally, in his discussion of conversions between different types of capital, Bourdieu recognises that all types of capital can be derived from economic capital through varying efforts of transformation. Bourdieu also states that cultural and social capital are fundamentally rooted in economic capital but they can never be completely reduced to an economic form. Rather, social and cultural capital remain effective because they conceal their relationship to economic capital. He explains how the different types of capital can be acquired, exchanged, and converted into other forms.

A field is the place for struggles where individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of the forms of capital specific to it and every single individual will have different aims, i.e. some will work to preserve their status, while others will work to change it. However, everybody will share certain presuppositions even though they have different aims or chances of success: they should believe in the field they are in, meaning that there should be a kind of accord or complicity on the part of those who

are in the struggle. Because the structure and distribution of capital also represent the inherent structure of the social world, Bourdieu argues that an understanding of the multiple forms of capital will help elucidate the structure and functioning of the social world.

II.2.4.2.1. Cultural capital

The term cultural capital represents the collection of non-economic forces such as family background, social class, varying investments in and commitments to education, different resources, etc. which influence academic success. Bourdieu distinguishes three states of cultural capital: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised states. The embodied state is directly linked to and incorporated within the individual and represents what they know and can do. Embodied capital can be increased by investing time into self improvement in the form of learning. As embodied capital becomes integrated into the individual, it becomes a type of habitus and therefore cannot be transmitted instantaneously. The objectified state of cultural capital is represented by cultural goods, material objects such as books, paintings, instruments, or machines. They can be appropriated both materially with economic capital and symbolically via embodied capital. Finally, cultural capital in its institutionalised state provides academic credentials and qualifications which create a “certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to power” (Bourdieu 1986: 248). These academic qualifications can then be used as a rate of conversion between cultural and economic capital. He states that the ability and talent of an individual is primarily determined by the time and cultural capital invested in them by their parents. Similarly, Bourdieu argues that “the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family” (Bourdieu 1986: 244) and “the initial accumulation of cultural capital, the precondition for the fast, easy accumulation of every kind of useful cultural capital, starts at the outset, without delay, without wasted time, only for the offspring of families endowed with strong cultural capital” (Bourdieu 1986: 246). Based upon these assertions, it appears that cultural capital regulates and reproduces itself in a similar fashion as habitus. According to this model, families of a given cultural capital could only produce offspring with an equal amount of cultural capital. Bourdieu defines social capital as, “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to

possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu 1986: 248). It is true that Bourdieu emphasised how social classes, especially the ruling and intellectual classes, reproduce themselves, through regenerating their parents’ cultural capital (even under the pretense that society fosters social mobility), it’s certainly not the only way. In fact, a child which starts his educational *iter* may be more or less advantaged on the basis of the cultural capital his/her parents have. The way in which this advantage or disadvantage materialise itself depends on how much the parents’ cultural capital become their child’s own, through a sort of intergenerational transmission. For example, whether parents possess a high cultural capital, but do not have several relationships with their children, it is unlikely that their cultural capital could be transmitted to their children.

II.2.4.3. Which cultural capital?

As Wright puts it: “The dialects of those without power will never constitute cultural capital and the argument that a standard is more easily acquired than an in-group variety that is not codified is legitimate” (Wright 2004: 44). Cultural capital seems to be constituted by the standard, but in the case of minority community which sort of cultural capital the members are supposed to have? What does it mean to possess a cultural capital constituted by the standard of the guest country, or by their local language? In the case of the Arbëresh communities, what sort of cultural capital is represented by knowing the Italian language, the local Arbëresh dialect, and standard Albanian respectively? The older situation seems to suggest a dichotomy between the knowledge of the two: knowing Italian provided a certain kind of urban-oriented cultural capital, a tool which permits social mobility, i.e. taking a job in the city, which represents social mobility; while knowing Arbëresh provides a different cultural capital which is not concerned with social mobility, but with staying rooted in the place of one’s origins.

II.2.5. SMOLICZ AND THE CORE VALUES

In the analysis of the concept of identity of a group, Smolicz (1988) states that a collective identity develops when group members are aware they share similar attitudes towards certain cultural values. Individual attitudes, however, cannot exist in isolation.

Rather, they exist in a dynamic inter-relationship with the group's ideological system which is comprised of standards of values and norms of conduct. According to him, the values and norms of a cultural group regulate the principles of judgement and the ways of acting that group members are supposed to accept and abide by. In other words, the ideological system guides individuals in both their thinking and their acting. Cultural values might include ethno-specific language, music, national dances, religion, food preparation, family structure, arts and crafts, political organisation, child-rearing practices, traditional methods of health care, and attachment to the native land or region. However, as Smolicz states, not all these diverse items are necessarily of equal importance for the identification of individuals as group members. Within the range of distinctive elements which constitute the culture of a group there are definitive or core values around which the group is organised. Once a cultural value acquires the status of a core, it assumes an ideological significance for group members and acts as an identifying value that is symbolic of the group and its membership. Ideological systems contain a hierarchy of values graded by importance within which it is possible to find a nucleus of values that is indispensable to the continuity, integrity and authenticity of the cultural system. Hence, according to Smolicz, their maintenance is in fact the *sine qua non* of the group's survival as a separate cultural entity.

Smolicz applied his concepts also to immigrant groups. They brought with themselves in the new country their culture, which in contact with the guest society goes through a series of changes which could account for the changes in ethnicity. If more than a culture is available in a society, then it is likely that some processes of selection on the basis of several members' aspirations occur. However, the core values of the culture remain intact, functioning as their ethnic marker: the level to which a culture survives depends on the transmission of the core values. According to Smolicz, this is because single values are not equally important for the identification of the individuals as members of a group: some of them can be modified and even lost, without any consequence on the stability of the group, but the loss of those which are considered to be core can have deep consequences on the group. The loss of the core values entails the disintegration of a distinct cultural identity. However, in some cases where these values are maintained by certain members of the group, they can act as symbols for the whole group, particularly for those who assimilated to the culture of the dominant group.

Smolicz states that amongst these quintessential markers of identity, language is usually (but not always) the most manifest – it is certainly the most readily identifiable and is, in the most literal sense, the group's public voice and face to the world. Distinctive cultural groups differ in terms of the value they give to their native language. For example, on the one hand there can be nationalistic members who are not competent in their family language, on the other there are groups who underlined the central role of their language in their culture and the language is considered to be the most effective tool against assimilation. Hence, the maintenance of minority languages depends on whether the languages are considered core values of their culture.

As Smolicz observes, the maintenance of the core values depends on the prestige one's own group culture has in another culture, often the dominant culture, and consequently on the image the minority's culture has in the dominant culture. The maintenance of minority ethnic languages and cultures is related to their positive evaluation so that, for example, high ethnic language evaluation reflects high levels of activation of the language while low levels of evaluation is associated with little or no activation.

II.2.6. FORESHADOWING RELEVANCE

As can be seen later, the following concepts, which have been illustrated in this chapter, will be applied to the analysis of the Arbëresh world in Molise:

1. Social Identity theory:
 - a. The relative hierarchization which people impose on themselves, particularly in the contrast between members of in-group, i.e. Arbëresh community, and out-groups, i.e. Italians and Albanians;
 - b. In-group's negative perceived conditions;
 - c. The strategy of individual mobility from in-group to out-group, in order to achieve a more positive self concept;
2. Nation building. Minorities and identities:
 - a. The reasons why Arbëresh resisted assimilation in the past but are accepting it now;

- b. The effects that the shift to the Italian language has on Arbëresh identity;
- 3. Self-categorization theory:
 - a. Self-conception reflects self-categorization: Arbëresh people's self-conception reflects the categorizations of themselves, of Italians and of Albanians;
 - b. in line with the meta-contrast principle, it will be explained how salient contrasts may vary between Arbëresh people, Italians and Albanians.
- 4. Bourdieu and the notion of cultural capital:
 - The type of "cultural capital" the Arbëresh people have;
- 5. Smolicz and the notion of language as the core value:
 - To analyse whether the Arbëresh people consider their language to be a core value of their culture.

Chapter II.3. Language revitalization and shift reversal

This chapter deals with the different strategies that might be pursued in order to revitalize a dying language. Two models will be highlighted: Fishman's (1991) and King's frameworks (2001), as they oppose two different sets of actions to be undertaken, respectively bottom-up and top-down strategies.

II.3.1. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

As Wright suggests, there are three possible responses to language shift and/or loss: "the first is to do nothing; accept changes in language use as normal [...] Language will adapt itself as speakers are in contact with others or in new situations. [...] The second option is to turn to scholarship. Linguists can preserve the language, by documenting and recording as much data as possible. [...] that such scholarly activity is likely to be of little immediate benefit to the remaining speakers [...] The third option is to attempt some sort of language salvage, revitalisation, or maintenance programme, depending on the position of the language on the continuum of vitality" (Wright 2004: 231). After multiple disheartening predictions of the imminent loss of most of the world's languages, among the three possibilities, language revitalization began receiving the most serious attention at the academic level, to the point that it has become a "must" for the academic world. Indeed, the last fifteen years have witnessed an explosion of interest¹ in what can be defined as "one of several types of societal-level language shift" (King, 2001: 3). For many, the death of a language represents an important loss to the intellectual and cultural diversity of the world: "each language is indissolubly tied up with a unique culture, literature, and world view all of which represent the end point of thousands of years of human inventiveness" (Diamond 1993: 84), to the end that it is considered to be "an intellectual catastrophe" (Zepeda & Hill 1991: 135). For others, however, the necessity of linguistic survival for cultural maintenance remains far from clear, and the question of what should be done by whom remains open for debate².

The multitude of studies investigating language revitalization in different typologies of situations has led to the development of some theories and frameworks, which try to predict or explain factors conducive to such goal.

II.3.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

An early definition of language revitalization can be seen in Stewart's concept of language vitality, defined as the "use of the linguistic system by an isolated community" (Stewart 1968: 536). In this light, language revitalization can be considered to be the process of moving towards renewed vitality of an obsolescent language. In line with Stewart, Spolsky considers language revitalization to be a process which restores vitality adding "both a new set of speakers and a new function, spreading the language to babies and young children who become its native speakers ... At the same time, it adds the functions associated with the domain of home and family, resulting in various kinds of informal and intimate language use and the related emotional associations of the language" (Spolsky 1995: 178). In 1993, Paulston *et al.* defined language revitalization as the act of "imparting new vigor to a language still in use, most commonly through the expansion of domains" (Paulston *et al.* 1993: 276). Therefore, according to them language revitalization includes efforts to use the language in new domains, and to introduce it to new speakers. This vision is adopted by King too: "language revitalization, as conceptualized here, encompasses efforts which might target the language structure, the uses of the language, as well as the users of the language". (King 2001: 23).

However, it is difficult to find a definition which is accepted unanimously among scholars, as is testified to by the presence in the literature of closely related terms, employed to describe different kinds of phenomena, such as language revival, language renewal and reversing language shift.

According to Dorian, language revival, seen as "reviving a language no longer spoken as a vernacular" (Dorian, 1994: 481), is a process which could be applied to a situation where the language is already dead. This is shared by Paulston *et al.* - "the act

of reviving a language that was no longer used by any native speaker” (Paulston *et al.* 1993: 276); whereas it contrasts with Leap’s (1981: 211) and Marshall’s (1994: 24) application of the term to situations where the language is merely threatened.

The term language renewal was adopted by Otto, who considers it to be “an organised adult effort to ensure that at least some members of a group whose traditional language has a steadily declining number of speakers will continue to use the language and will promote its being learned by others in the group” (Otto 1982: 43).

Language shift reversal, a term introduced by Fishman, consists of “assistance to speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their inter-generational continuity is proceeding negatively with fewer and fewer users or uses every generation” (Fishman 1991: 1).

In the next sections, the key components of Fishman’s and King’s framework will be presented. These two models are chosen as they oppose two different sets of actions to be pursued in order to revitalize an endangered language, respectively bottom-up and top-down strategies.

II.3.2.1. Reversing language shift

Fishman’s reversing language shift framework is meant to provide a “greater societal perspective for negotiating the difficult priorities that any reversing language shift effort inevitably involves” (Fishman 1990: 16). He proposes an eight-stage model, where the strategies at the bottom are more appropriate for situations when the threatened language has very limited vitality, whereas the strategies at the top are appropriate for languages with grater vitality. Therefore, the kind of actions to be undertaken depend on the “severity of intergenerational dislocation” (Fishman 1991: 393). The more disadvantaged a language is, the more unproductive and often less feasible high level planning can be. The following table shows Fishman’s eight scale model (Fishman 1991: 395), which should be read from the bottom up.

Table 8 Fishman’s stages of reversing language shift

1. Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.
2. Local/regional mass media and governmental services.

3. The local/regional (i.e., non neighborhood) work sphere, both among Xmen³ and among Ymen⁴.
4. b. Public schools for Xish children, offering some instructions via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.
4. a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.
5. Schools for literary acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighborhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission.
7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation.
8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL.

This model is subdivided into two subgroupings: the former includes stages from 8 to 5, the latter from 4 to 1. The actions of the first block attempt to attain diglossia, ensuring the use of the minority language as the low variety (L), in opposition to the majority, representing the high variety (H). Stage 8, necessary in a situation of language death or, complete shift, aims to have some fluent adult speakers. In cases such as this, the minority language needs to be reconstructed, either from available sources, or by borrowing from related languages, or by importing speakers and material when it is used elsewhere. Stage 7 aims to have old speakers using the language for ethno-cultural functions. Stage 6 represents the crucial and decisive stage in the reversing of the shift: to restore the language in the family, in the home, in the neighborhood, and in the community. Only in this way can the intergenerational linguistic transmission process take place. Stage 5 describes the initiatives to be undertaken by the community in order to spread literacy in the minority language to younger and older members of the community.

The actions of the first block could be undertaken by the community alone, without the official authorities' help; nevertheless, they can represent forms for endangered languages maintenance, provided by national language policy.

On the other hand, the stages from 4 to 1 are necessary in order to “transcend diglossia” (Fishman 1991: 395), and are attained through the increasing power-sharing of the minority language. With a more officially recognised status, L would gain access to domains which were exclusive to H. It is clear that the stages from 4 to 1 include official authorities’ support, since they involve language policy and language planning.

The hierarchical presentation of the stages is meant to emphasise the indispensable nature of the lower stages, in order to obtain lasting results, , attained only through reinstating intergenerational transmission. Anything less than restoring intergenerational transmission is merely “biding time” (Fishman 1991: 399). “Endangered languages become such because of the lack of informal intergenerational transmission and informal daily life support, not because they are taught in schools” (Fishman 1997: 190). According to Fishman, when a language is no longer being passed on at home, efforts to promote it outside that domain – in church or in schools – usually end up being symbolic and ceremonial. Nevertheless, the expansion of use of the language into new domains is an important aspect in the process, but it could be achieved after the reinforcement of the mother tongue transmission only.

II.3.2.2. Language revitalization

As stated above, language revitalization refers to efforts which aim to add new linguistic forms or social functions, in order to increase the number of language users and uses. In other words, it does not entail the reconstruction of former language use patterns, domain by domain, but all the revitalization efforts aim to use or re-use the language in public and formal domains. “To use language planning terminology, language revitalization might entail corpus planning, status planning, as well as acquisition planning” (King 2001: 23). Therefore, it distinguishes itself from other types of “positive” language shift, by setting its topic within the field of language planning, making its analysis possible by concepts and theory of language planning⁵. This is the whole of top-down actions undertaken by language planners and “refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes” (Cooper 1989: 43). As King noticed, “partly in reaction to the (real or perceived) deterioration of the language, but also due to the need or desire to develop written materials in the threatened language,

revitalization often entails efforts to develop a standard variety which is untainted by the contact language” (King 2001: 198).

Language planning includes three areas: corpus planning, status planning⁶ and acquisition planning⁷. Corpus planning can be defined as “those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to the language” (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 38). As a consequence, its goals usually include providing an orthography for a language, modernisation of the lexicon, etc. Therefore, as a response to language loss, corpus planning aims to return the linguistic system to what is perceived to be its healthier former state. Whereas, the typical aims of status planning are official recognition of a language, promotion of a language for international purposes, etc. Finally, acquisition planning aims to create or improve opportunities to acquire a language through its adoption particularly in school and mass media.

Moreover, language revitalization initiatives may include both policy planning and cultivation planning. The former tends to “focus on matters of society and nations, at the macroscopic level, emphasizing the distribution of languages/literacies and mainly [is] concerned with standard language” (Hornberger 1994: 79). Whereas, the latter is “seen as attending to matters of language, at the microscopic level, as emphasizing ways of speaking/writing, and [is] mainly concerned with literary usage” (Hornberger 1994: 79).

Language revitalization potentially involves and encompasses multiple language planning approaches, goals and types⁸: the choice among them depends on the types of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors characterising the language to be planned.

II.3.3. BOTTOM-UP VS TOP-DOWN STRATEGIES

As discussed above, the essential and primary goal of Fishman’s reversing language shift is to restore language intergenerational transmission, attained through its use in the home domain, as the primary language of parent-child communication. When a language is no longer being passed on at home, efforts to promote it in formal domains usually end up being symbolic and ceremonial. Nevertheless, the expansion of use of the language into new domains is an important aspect in the process, but it could be achieved, after the reinforcement of the mother tongue transmission only.

In contrast, according to King, language revitalization refers to efforts aiming to add new linguistics forms or social functions, with the final goal of increasing its users and uses, focusing on using or re-using the language in public and formal domains. Trying to find analogies and differences with language shift reversal, King finds that “the reinstatement of the home-family transmission of the heritage language might the ultimate aim of language revitalization efforts too; however, it is not the only possible aim. [...] The scope and the aim of revitalization is broader” (King 2001: 209-210). With these words, she does not mean that Fishman’s theory is “narrow”; rather she wants to emphasize that the goal of reversing language shift is highly focused, in contrast with those of language revitalization. Therefore, according to her, the main difference between language revitalization and reversing language shift efforts is that the actions of the former, which have different objectives or do not meet the goal of intergenerational transmission, are not necessarily the failure that Fishman sees them as being (Fishman 1991).

In my own view, in order to respond to language loss, *a priori* the whole speech community must address itself a simple question: “Do we really want to preserve [our threatened language]?” (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998: 63). Where the answer to this question is positive, and where there is a collective willingness to restore vigour to the language, a bottom-up approach should be applied, focusing on two levels: the family and the community. In line with Fishman’s proposals, my claim is that by concentrating efforts on the home front, transmission and hence long-term maintenance will have a reasonable chance of success.

Most language policies deal with national and international levels, rather than local usage. This would mean changes in the state law and financial support for their implementation, in order to undertake language planning activities. However, these actions fall short of what is required in practical terms, if a language is to survive in spoken everyday use. Too much attention to official policy statements can be counterproductive in the absence of other lower activities. Survival cannot depend on legislation as its main support. As Ellis & Mac a’Ghobhainm state, “a language cannot be saved by [...] getting “official status” for it, or getting it taught in schools” (1971: 128), and “language reversal can’t be done to you or for by others.” (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998: 96).

Although control over the language of the government, education and workplace may be ultimate goals of language maintenance efforts, they should not be the first priorities. As Nettle and Romaine put it, “without safeguards for language use at home sufficient to ensure transmission, attempts to prop the language up outside the home will be like blowing air into a punctured tire. It will be impossible to achieve a steady state based on the incoming air due to continual losses resulting from the unmended puncture” (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 178). Indeed, in some cases, groups have spent an enormous amount of money for language planning, but without having much return, and without stopping the continuous loss of speakers. Grammar projects and dictionaries are only artificial tools, they are “artificial environments for languages. They reflect only a fraction of the diversity of a language in its everyday use and cannot capture the ever-changing nature of language” (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 178). Ever metaphorically, Nettle and Romaine state: “It is like arguing that we should concentrate our efforts on preserving the spotted owl by building museums where we can display stuffed owls, but do nothing to preserve the bird in its natural habitat or guarantee that it can reproduce” (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 178-179).

However, several programmes of language maintenance have focused their attention on education programmes in the endangered language, on preserving the structure of the language through grammars and dictionaries, or on campaign for official status. To give an example, schools in Ireland have achieved an important goal for formal language education, that is knowledge of Irish as a second language acquired in late adolescence. However, the problem was that their efforts did not lead to its spoken use in everyday life, nor to its intergenerational transmission. It was very difficult to maintain the proficiency that the Irish pupils achieved at school in the absence of adequate community support for the language. However, things were different in the case of Hawaiian language. This is a severely endangered language, spoken by few hundred Hawaiians, living in the isolated island of Ni‘ihau and in near islands, who are in contact with English in their everyday lives. The last years of 1970s witnessed a growing and energetic movement based on a political and cultural Hawaiian renaissance. It was followed by a pre-school program in Hawaiian in 1984, which was the first indigenous language immersion program in US. The community’s role was particularly important for the development of this program, in fact the initial funds were provided by parents, by community fund-raising activities and by some private foundations. However, there

were legal barriers for using the Hawaiian language in public schools, given that only English could be used for educational purposes, hence it was decided to expand the experimental program vertically rather than horizontally. Even though in 1978 Hawaiian received the status of official language together with English, things did not change until 1987 when Hawaiian started being used in some first elementary immersion programs. In 1988 the Hawai'i's Department of Education gave a positive feedback to the programs, observing that children did not lose English basic skills, even when they attended immersion programs in Hawaiian. Moreover, in 1989 a support center for the Hawaiian language and culture was established at the University of Hawai'i. The demand for immersion programs has grown steadily, to the point that in 1996 the state approved the first total Hawaiian immersion school with classes from kindergarten to high school. In 1997 the Hawaiian Language College with the first graduate program in an indigenous language was established at the University of Hawai'i.

As was shown, people have used schooling as a means of resistance. However, even though the use of the minority language in school and in other formal domains is an important factor for its maintenance, it cannot replace the home and the community front.

II.3.4. FORESHADOWING RELEVANCE

As will be seen when analysing Arbëresh vitality in Molise, the language here is undergoing different degrees of decline, and efforts to revitalise it might be pursued, particularly in the light of the top-down forms of protection provided by the national law 482/1999. However, as discussed above, I stress the importance of bottom-up strategies, in order to restore language intergenerational transmission, attained through its use in the home domain, as the primary language of parent-child communication. All this is in line with Fishman's ideas. Where there are positive results from bottom-up strategies, State intervention, with top-down forms of maintenance, will be necessary to achieve long-standing results. This choice of the priority of bottom up strategies will be justified by the results of my sociolinguistic survey of three Arbëresh communities.

However, a final consideration is necessary. As Wright suggests, "ethno-nationalist ideology may support language rights for minorities living among the

majority, but the price the latter pay for this will often be exclusion. [...] It is the separate development required in a system of apartheid or reserves that allows the language of the minority groups to be taught within the group" (Wright 2004: 242). Therefore shift in the minority group is what is encouraged by current state ideologies, because "the alternative, marginalization within the state, is a high price to pay for language maintenance" (Wright 2004: 243). In her opinion, the hierarchisation of languages which coexist within a society is inevitable (except perhaps in cases where the language is exclusively oral) and even in the case of stable bilingualism a situation of diglossia is likely to happen.

Moreover, some communities might want to use their threatened language as a second language (maybe using it primarily for specific ritual and cultural functions) and, hence, the re-introduction of the minority language as the primary tongue would be undesirable. In other cases, the group might decide that a limited competence in the endangered language would function as a valid symbol of identity.

It should be remembered that change rather than stasis is the norm historically and linguistically. People move physically and psychologically, environment alters, needs and demands change. All this is natural.

Section III. Sociolinguistic study

Chapter III.1.

Pilot study

The aim of the preceding sections was to illustrate the theoretical background which the sociolinguistic study presented in section III is based on. The main sociolinguistic study about Arbëresh vitality in Molise was preceded by a pilot study, carried out in three Arbëresh communities of the region - Campomarino, Porocannone and Ururi. The results will be presented in this chapter.

III.1.1. AIMS

The aim of the pilot study was to calculate the number of Arbëresh speakers in Campomarino, Portocannone and Ururi. The results were used:

1. to formulate a hypothesis to start with in the main study;
2. as a variable in the calculation of the sample size of the main study.

III.1.2. HYPOTHESIS

The conditions surrounding the communities speaking Arbëresh in Molise, diachronically and synchronically, argue for the study of their language dynamics in the context of language decline. On the basis of the general pattern provided by the theoretical background, the hypothesis for each of the three communities can be stated as follows:

- speakers' competence in Arbëresh language will be age-related: the degree of competence will increase along with the speakers' age.

III.1.3. METHODOLOGY

III.1.3.1. Sample

The populations of the three different villages were stratified in 7 layers, depending on the speakers' age, as follows:

- Layer 0: subjects from 3 to 5 years old;

- ❑ Layer 1: subjects from 6 to 10 years old;
- ❑ Layer 2: subjects from 11 to 13 years old;
- ❑ Layer 3: subjects from 4 to 19 years old;
- ❑ Layer 4: subjects from 19 to 39 years old;
- ❑ Layer 5: subjects from 40 to 69 years old;
- ❑ Layer 6: subjects of 70 years and over.

The pilot samples were, respectively, of 35 subjects for Campomarino, 32 for Portocannone, and 33 for Ururi. The following tables show the pilot samples used:

Table 9 Campomarino pilot sample

Layer	Number
Layer 0	2
Layer 1	2
Layer 2	3
Layer 3	4
Layer 4	8
Layer 5	10
Layer 6	6
Total	35

Table 10 Portocannone pilot sample

Layer	Number
Layer 0	2
Layer 1	2
Layer 2	2
Layer 3	4
Layer 4	7
Layer 5	10
Layer 6	5
Total	32

Table 11 Ururi pilot sample

Layer	Number
Layer 0	2
Layer 1	3
Layer 2	2
Layer 3	3
Layer 4	8
Layer 5	10
Layer 6	5
Total	33

III.1.3.2. Subjects and procedure

The local subjects were interviewed on the basis of a short questionnaire, which is presented in Appendix 2. The questionnaire, the same for all the subjects, is made up of two thematic sections:

1. General information on the subjects (age, gender);
2. Self-reported competence in Arbëresh.

All the interviews were recorded.

III.1.4. DATA ANALYSIS

III.1.4.1. Procedure

The following steps were taken in the analysis of the data of the three communities:

1. Classification of the variables:
 - a. Dependent variable: subjects' competence in Arbëresh;
 - b. Independent variables: gender and age.
2. The statistical package SPSS was used for estimating the association between the variables. The application used is categorical regression, since through optimal scaling, it assigns numerical quantification to qualitative and

quantitative categories of each variable. The relationship between a categorical response variable and a combination of categorical predictor variables was described through a linear equation, predicting the values of a categorical dependent variable, from a combination of categorical independent variables;

3. graphical representation of the variables through bar and pie-charts.

The coding frame used is shown in the following table:

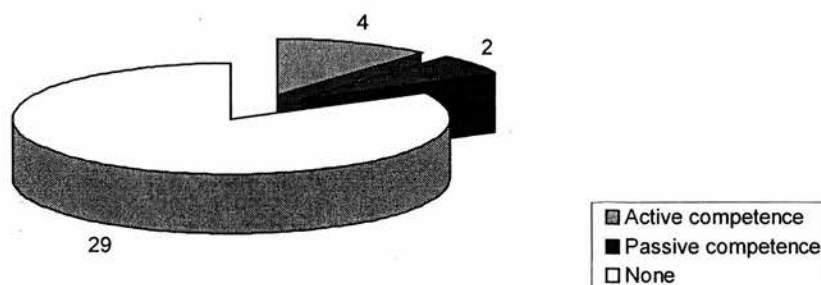
Table 12 Coding frame of the pilot study

Variable	Gloss	Code
1. Subj. Id	Identity code	1..35/32/33
2. Gender		1= female 2= male
3. Age		1= 3-5 2= 6-10 3= 11-13 4= 14-18 5= 19-39 6= 40-69 7= 70 or over
4. Competence	Competence in Arbëresh	1= active 2= passive 3= none

III.1.4.2. Campomarino

The following figure¹ represents the percentage of active and passive Arbëresh speakers, as well as the percentage of Italian monolinguals in Campomarino:

Figure 6 C. p. Degree of competence



As shown in the figure, 29 of subjects do not have any knowledge of Arbëresh; only 2 are active Arbëresh speakers, and 4 subjects have a passive knowledge of it.

The categorical regression was run to see how much of the variation in the subjects' competence could be explained by the two independent variables:

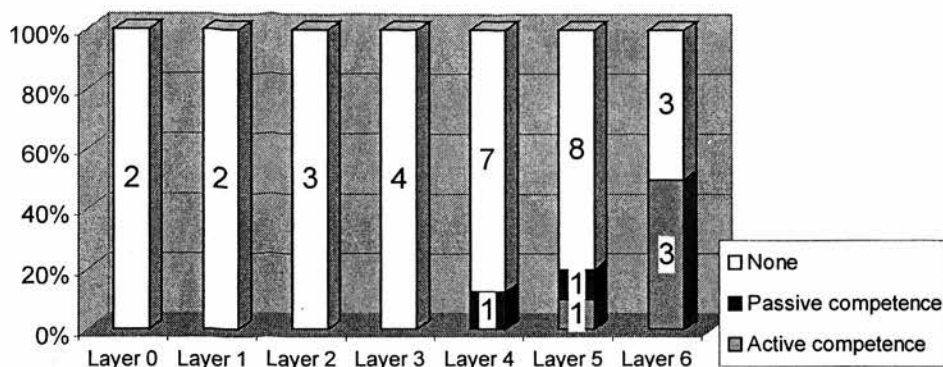
Table 13 C. p. "Competence" and subjects' background variables

Predictors	
Age + Gender	$R^2=.323$, $R \text{ multiple}=.568$, $p<.05$
Age	$\text{Beta} = -.568$, $p<.0001$
Gender	$p>.05$

The model formed by the two predictors "age" and "gender" is statistically significant ($p<.05$). Considering each predictor alone, it can be seen that "age" only is significant ($p<.0001$), and the negative value of the Beta coefficient underlines that the predictor "age" is inversely proportional to the "competence". This means that the subjects' degree of competence in Arbëresh increases with their age. This is entirely as was expected.

The interaction between the dependent variable and the statistically significant predictor "age" can be seen in the following figure:

Figure 7 C. p. "Competence" by "age"

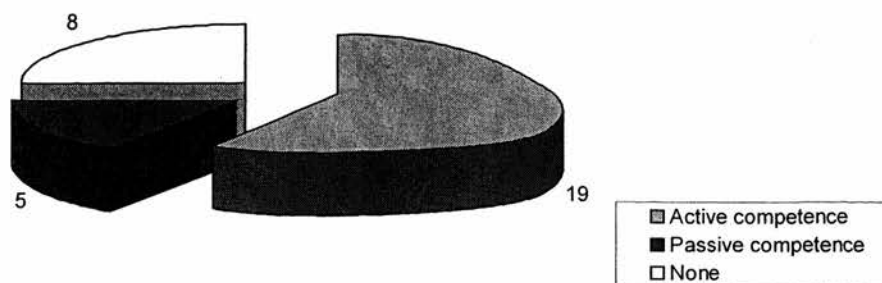


As is clear from the chart, the low percentage of active Arbëresh speakers can be observed in layer 6 and 5. Passive Arbëresh speakers appear in layer 5 and 4, in a very low percentage too. The rest of the subjects do not possess any competence in Arbëresh.

III.1.4.3. Portocannone

The number of active and passive Arbëresh speakers, together with monolinguals of Italian is graphically represented in the figure below²:

Figure 8 P. p. Degree of competence



The situation shown in the figure is completely different from that of Campomarino. In Portocannone, the majority of subjects are active Arbëresh speakers - 19. This is followed by the group of subjects with no competence in Arbëresh - 8, and there are 5 passive Arbëresh speakers.

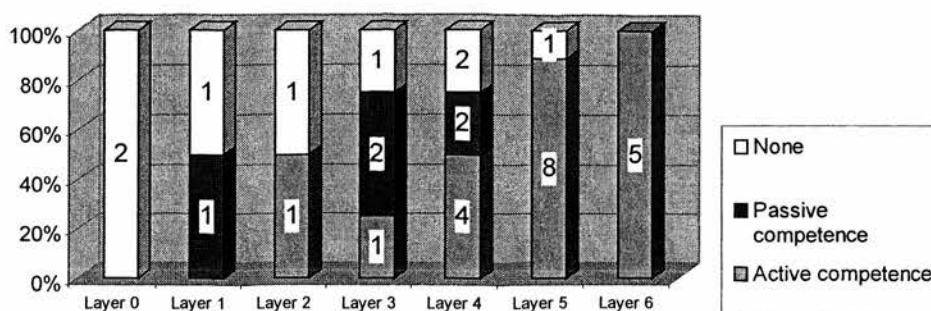
The results of categorical regression are shown in the following table:

Table 14 P. p. "Competence" and subjects' background variables

Predictors	
"Age" + "Gender"	$R^2=.457$, $R \text{ multiple}=.676$, $p<.05$
"Age"	$\text{Beta} = -.672$, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$\text{Beta} = .064$, $p>.05$

The model formed by the two independent variables "age" and "gender" is statistically significant ($p<.05$). However, as in the case of Campomarino, only the variable "age" makes a significant contribution to explaining the variation in competence ($p<.0001$). Moreover, in this case too, the negative value of the Beta coefficient shows that the "age" is inversely proportional to the "competence". The interaction between these two variables can be seen in the following figure:

Figure 9 P. p. "Competence" by "age"

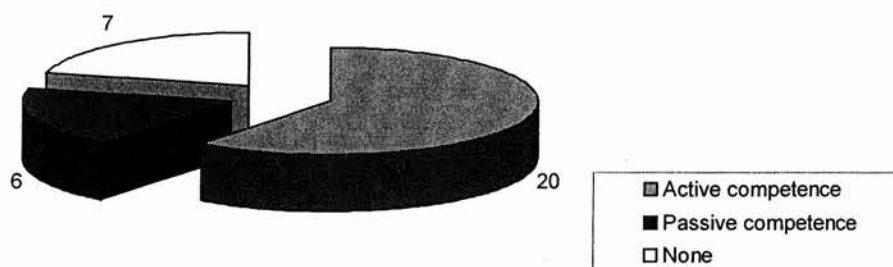


Contrasting with the Campomarino results, where the active competence is linked to some of the subjects of layer 5 and 6 only, here the age layers show a higher variation in the “competence”. Apart from layer 0, where all the subjects are monolingual in Italian, and layer 1, where half of the subjects have passive competence in Arbëresh, active Arbëresh speakers are present from layer 2 to 6. A hierarchy of active competence can be observed, moving from layer 2 to layer 6, where all the subjects are active Arbëresh speakers.

III.1.4.4. Ururi

The following figure³ represents the percentage of active and passive Arbëresh speakers, as well as the percentage of monolinguals of Italian in Ururi:

Figure 10 U. p. Degree of competence



In Ururi, the number of active speakers is higher than in Portocannone - 20 vs 19. As regarding the passive speakers, they are 6, whereas 7 informants do not have any knowledge of Arbëresh.

The following table shows the results of the categorical regression:

Table 15 U. p. “Competence” and subjects’ background variables

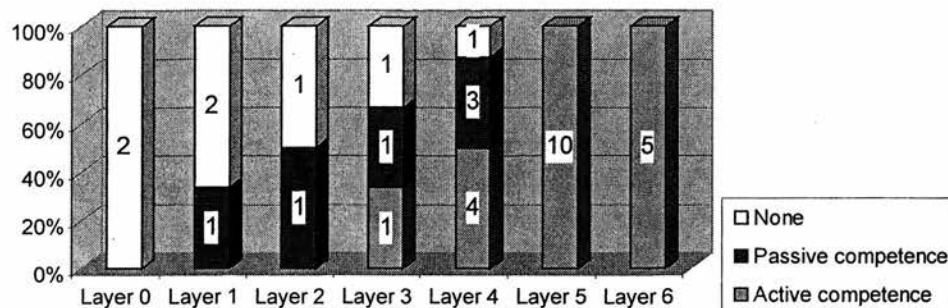
Predictors	
“Age” + “Gender”	$R^2=.700$, $R \text{ multiple}=.837$, $p<.0001$
“Age”	$\text{Beta} = -.825$, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	$p>.05$

As can be seen from the results, the model made up of the variables “age” and “gender”, is very significant ($p<.0001$). Considering the predictors’ coefficients alone, it

emerges that the variable “age” is very significant ($p < .001$): the competence degree increases along with the age (Beta=-.825).

The interaction of these two variables is presented in the following figure:

Figure 11U. p. “Competence” by “age”

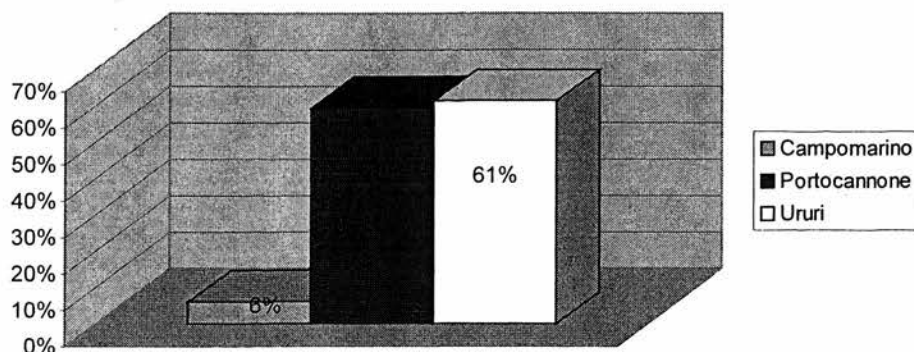


As shown in the figure, three clear hierarchies can be observed: as the percentage of active Arbëresh speakers increases, the percentage of passive speakers and that of subjects without any competence decrease. Therefore, on the one hand, the highest degree of competence in Arbëresh is associated with high age layers, and on the other, the lowest degree of competence in Arbëresh is associated with low age layers.

III.1.4.5. Results: a comparison

From the results a high degree of variation in Arbëresh active competence among the three villages can be observed, as shown in the following chart:

Figure 12 p. Active speakers in the three villages



The situation in Campomarino is completely different both from Portocannone and from Ururi: the percentage of active Arbëresh speakers in the first community is much lower than that of the other two communities. Moreover, an increasing

concentration of active Arbëresh speakers can be delineated, moving from Campomarino, to Portocannone, finally to Ururi.

III.1.5. DISCUSSION

The results show two basic trends:

1. In each community, active competence in Arbëresh is age-related: its frequency gets higher moving up the age layers;
2. The three villages differ in the percentage of Arbëresh speakers: the percentage gets higher proceeding from Campomarino to Portocannone to Ururi. That is from the outmost part of the region, to inland location, to further inland.

Comparing the results obtained with those of Rother's survey, it emerges that Arbëresh vitality has remarkably changed from 1966: in Campomarino the percentage of active Arbëresh speakers is inversely proportional to its demographic consistency⁴. The reason for the deep difference between this percentage in comparison to the other two villages, can be found in its geographical position: the coast is the frontline of several migration waves both from Molise and from other Southern areas of Italy.

Regarding Portocannone and Ururi, comparing the results of the pilot study with Rother's data, a decreasing trend is clear. Moreover, these two villages record a reversed position: whereas in 1966 the percentage of Arbëresh speakers was higher in Portocannone than Ururi, today it seems to be the other way round.

These results represent the starting point for the main hypothesis, and they were used for the calculation of the main study's sample size too. Moreover, the pilot study was a way to test the speakers' attitudes towards me. In order to carry out the main study and have both reliable answers and comments from the subjects, I had to try being, if not a member of the communities, one of their friends, a person whom they could trust and rely on.

Chapter III.2. Main study

This chapter deals with the methodology and data analysis procedure used for the main sociolinguistic study which was carried out in the three villages surveyed in the pilot study - Campomarino, Portocannone and Ururi.

III.2.1. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The sociolinguistic study aims to give a picture of Arbëresh vitality, from the perspective of the speakers' language use and attitudes. Firstly the factors which make it predictable that the language will disappear as the family language will be shown, confirming or not the factors which were isolated in the case-studies presented in section II. Secondly, the Arbëresh communities' attitudes towards Arbëresh language - that is whether the Arbëresh people consider their language as a "core value" (Smolicz 1988) – and towards Standard Albanian will be analysed. In other words, the goal of the sociolinguistic study is to show:

1. Arbëresh vitality in the three villages;
2. the Arbëresh communities' attitudes towards Arbëresh;
3. the Arbëresh speech communities and standard Albanian.

III.2.1.1. Arbëresh vitality

Arbëresh vitality was "measured" on the basis of the following:

1. Subjects' competence in Arbëresh;
2. Subjects' language choice - Arbëresh vs Italian – in:
 - 2.1. Different domains - family (parents, siblings, grandparents), friends (of different age), school (teacher and schoolmates);
 - 2.2. topic-bound conversations;
 - 2.3. dreaming and mental counting. The language choice for these activities was included as a further factor to "measure" Arbëresh

vitality, because it was considered to be an expression of “potential” vitality.

III.2.1.2. Arbëresh communities’ attitudes towards Arbëresh language

It was “measured” on the basis of the following:

1. Arbëresh transmission to one’s own children. In other words, following the pattern provided by the theoretical framework, it was analysed on the one hand, whether the parents found it worthwhile to transmit the language to their off-spring, on the other hand, whether their decision to transmit the language influenced their children’s degree of competence in Arbëresh;
2. bilinguals’ satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh, i.e. if they were proud of speaking Arbëresh and monolinguals’ desire of learning it;
3. Arbëresh communities’ opinion on the most important language for their village.

III.2.1.3. Arbëresh communities and standard Albanian

This issue was considered in the light of Law 482/1999 presented in section I and was “measured” on the basis of the Arbëresh communities’ opinion concerning the introduction of standard Albanian as a school subject and/or a medium of education. In other words, the aim was to show whether Arbëresh communities have been influenced by the general trend for revitalization that has spread throughout Europe as discussed in section I.

III.2.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions are articulated as follows:

1. Arbëresh vitality:
 - 1.1. To what extent do the subjects’, parents’ and grandparents’ background variables play a part in their language choice?

- 1.2. To what extent do the subjects' background variables play a part in Arbëresh speakers' language choice - Italian vs. Arbëresh - in particular domains?
- 1.3. To what extent do the subjects' background variables play a part in Arbëresh speakers' language choice - Italian vs. Arbëresh - in conversations with interlocutors of different ages with active competence in Arbëresh?
- 1.4. To what extent do the subjects' background variables play a part in Arbëresh speakers' language choice - Italian vs. Arbëresh - in topic-bound conversations?
2. Arbëresh speech community , Arbëresh language and Standard Albanian:
 - 2.1. Do parents find it worthwhile to transmit Arbëresh to their offspring?
 - 2.2. Does parents' intention to transmit/or not transmit Arbëresh to the next generation "influence" their children's competence?
 - 2.3. Does the Arbëresh speech community have various types of attitudes towards Arbëresh?
 - 2.4. Does the Arbëresh speech community have different opinions on the introduction of standard Albanian in schools?

III.2.3. THE HYPOTHESES

The results obtained from the pilot study gave rise to the starting hypothesis, which can be articulated as follows:

1. the degree of competence in Arbëresh will be age-related: the speakers' competence increases along with their age;
2. the use of Arbëresh will be age-related: the older the speaker, the more likely it will be that Arbëresh is the preferred language, and the younger the speaker is, the more likely they will be to choose Italian;

3. the three villages will form an Arbëresh proficiency continuum: from the lowest percentage of speakers in Campomarino to the highest in Ururi.

III.2.4. METHODOLOGY

III.2.4.1. Sampling

Using the methodology of inferential statistics¹, it is possible to estimate the size of a proportionally stratified sample, assuming a normal distribution of the population attributes, using its mean and standardised score values, or the relative frequency of attributes analysed in a pilot study. The latter is the most accurate way to build a proportional sample and was chosen for this reason. Through this method, based on a preliminary data collection, the sample characteristics have a high probability to be similar to the population's ones because of the random choice of subjects (Di Basilio 1990: 241-248). Indeed, the attribute examined in the pilot study, the percentage of active Arbëresh speakers in each age layer (6% in Campomarino, 59% in Portocannone and 61% in Ururi), was used to calculate the sample size for the three populations of the main study².

Table 16 Campomarino sample

Age layers	Ni	Pi	1-pi	Ni-1	Wi	$\frac{pi(1-pi)}{/(Ni-1)}$	$\frac{WiNipi(1-pi)}{/(Ni-1)}$	$\frac{WiWipi(1-pi)}{/ni-1}$	N	Ni
Layer 0	205	0%	0.999	204	0.030966767	0.0000048971	0.0000310874	0.0000000047		0.6839185
Layer 1	299	0%	0.999	298	0.045166163	0.0000033523	0.0000452724	0.0000000068		0.9975202
Layer 2	200	0%	0.999	199	0.03021148	0.0000050201	0.0000303329	0.0000000046		0.6672376
Layer 3	433	0%	1	432	0.065407855	0.0000000000	0.0000000000	0.0000000000		1.4445693
Layer 4	2028	1%	0.988	2027	0.306344411	0.0000058490	0.0036338112	0.0000005489		6.7657889
Layer 5	2547	2%	0.983	2546	0.384743202	0.0000065636	0.0064319690	0.0000009716		8.4972704
Layer 6	908	3%	0.968	907	0.137160121	0.0000341521	0.0042533562	0.0000006425		3.0292586
Total	6620					0.0000598343	0.014425829	0.0006531791	22.08556352	22.0855635

Table 17 Portocannone sample

Age layers	Ni	Pi	1-pi	Ni-1	Wi	Pi(1-pi) /(Ni-1)	WiNipi(1-pi) /(Ni-1)	WiWipi(1-pi) /ni-1)	N	Ni
Layer 0	63	0%	0.999	62	0.025049702	0.0000161129	0.0000254283	0.0000000101		2.6407768
Layer 1	119	30%	0.7	118	0.047316103	0.0017796610	0.0100205883	0.0000039843		4.9881340
Layer 2	84	49%	0.51	83	0.033399602	0.0030108434	0.0084471216	0.0000033587		3.5210358
Layer 3	183	70%	0.3	182	0.072763419	0.0011538462	0.0153642759	0.0000061091		7.6708279
Layer 4	738	92%	0.08	737	0.293439364	0.0000998643	0.0216264413	0.0000085990		30.9348143
Layer 5	962	96%	0.04	961	0.38250497	0.0000399584	0.0147034751	0.0000058463		40.3242430
Layer 6	366	99%	0.01	365	0.145526839	0.0000271233	0.0014446629	0.0000005744		15.3416559
Total	2515					0.0061274094	0.071631993	0.0006794819	105.4214877	105.4214877

Table 18 Ururi sample

Age layers	Ni	Pi	1-pi	Ni-1	Wi	pi(1-pi) /(Ni-1)	WiNipi(1-pi) /(Ni-1)	Wipi(1-pi) /ni-1)	N	Ni
Layer 0	100	0%	0.999	99	0.032851511	0.0000100909	0.0000331502	0.0000000109		2.9631194
Layer 1	150	33%	0.67	149	0.049277267	0.0014838926	0.0109683259	0.0000036033		4.4446791
Layer 2	83	50%	0.5	82	0.027266754	0.0030487805	0.0068998189	0.0000022667		2.4593891
Layer 3	167	70%	0.3	166	0.054862024	0.0012650602	0.0115904287	0.0000038076		4.9484094
Layer 4	874	93%	0.07	873	0.287122208	0.0000745704	0.0187130665	0.0000061475		25.8976637
Layer 5	1088	97%	0.03	1087	0.357424442	0.0000267709	0.0104106198	0.0000034200		32.2387392
Layer 6	582	99%	0.01	581	0.191195795	0.0000170396	0.0018960963	0.0000006229		17.2453550
Total	3044					0.0059262052	0.0059262052	0.0006708789	90.1973550	90.1973550

Rounding the total number, the stratified samples, extracted with a proportional method, resulted in: 22 subjects for Campomarino, 106 for Portocannone, 90 for Ururi.

III.2.4.2. Subjects

In the three villages, the subjects were selected on the basis of two conditions:

- ❑ local origin and residence from birth
- ❑ Arbëresh origin.

They were segmented on the basis of their age as follows:

1. Layer 1: subjects from 3 to 18 years old;

2. Layer 2: subjects from 19 to 39 years old;
3. Layer 3: subjects from 40 to 69 years old;
4. Layer 4: subjects of 70 years and over.

Determining how best to recruit subjects was not an easy task. After careful consideration, I decided to use the schools as the starting point for the subjects' recruitment. Here, I was allowed to spend some time, particularly in the nursery where I had the possibility to observe the children, and get some information about their competence in Arbëresh. Then, after obtaining their parents' permission, I was allowed to go to the children's house to interview other family members. Through this procedure, cross-generational data within a family were obtained. In order to create a more relaxed atmosphere and to have more reliable answers from the subjects, I met them several times before doing the real interview, creating a friendly atmosphere.

III.2.4.3. The Questionnaire

The subjects were interviewed on the basis of a questionnaire. The reason I chose the methodology of guided interviews is that I wanted all the subjects to discuss specific topics, rather than talking freely. I wanted to give them the feeling of talking with a friend, rather than answering pre-set questions, and this is why the subjects did not see any typed questionnaire, but answered my questions without being influenced by already given options. This worked well, mainly because the subjects added several pieces of information, in addition to giving a deep and complete picture about their attitudes towards the Arbëresh language. Since the guided interview was very long, I administered it over many days, and this methodology allowed the subjects to be more relaxed, not having time-pressure. Three types of questionnaires were used in the interviews:

1. Questionnaire 0 for subjects from 3 to 5 years old;
2. Questionnaire I for subjects from 6 to 10 years old;
3. Questionnaire II for subjects from 11 to 70 and over;

Each interview, carried out in Italian, was recorded with a Sony TCM-313 tape recorder. I discovered that informants' reaction to the tape recorder, which may seriously interfere with the naturalness of people's behaviour, was contingent upon their attitudes

towards me. If a positive relationship had been established, the introduction of the machine was a continuation of a preexisting condition. When the subjects used Arbëresh words, they were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

III.2.4.3.1. Questionnaire 0

It is made up of two thematic sections:

1. general information on the child (age, gender);
2. competence in Arbëresh.

Given the informants' age, it was not possible to collect metalinguistic judgements about their competence in Arbëresh. Therefore, this was judged by myself, on the basis of long observations and conversations with them.

The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2.

III.2.4.3.2. Questionnaire I

It is made up of seven thematic sections:

1. general information on the children (age, gender, level of education);
2. general information on their parents (competence in Arbëresh);
3. general information on their grandparents (competence in Arbëresh);
4. self-reported competence in Arbëresh, i.e. active, passive or none;
5. active Arbëresh speakers' self-assessed proficiency in Arbëresh basic skills, i.e. poor, average, good and very good;
6. active Arbëresh speakers's language choice – Italian vs Arbëresh;
7. subjects' attitudes towards Arbëresh.

The full questionnaire is reported in Appendix 2.

III.2.4.3.3. Questionnaire II

The questionnaire is made up of eight thematic sections:

1. general information on the subjects (age, gender, level of education, occupation);

2. general information on their parents (level of education, occupation, competence in Arbëresh);
3. general information on his/her grandparents (competence in Arbëresh);
4. self-reported competence in Arbëresh language i.e. active, passive or none;
5. active Arbëresh speakers' self-assessed proficiency in Arbëresh basic skills, i.e. poor, average, good and very good;
6. active Arbëresh speakers' language choice – Italian vs Arbëresh;
7. subjects' attitudes towards Arbëresh.
8. standard Albanian as a school subject and/or as a medium of education.

The full questionnaire is reported in Appendix 2.

III.2.5. DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Two different procedures were used, one for analysing the data regarding Arbëresh vitality, the other for analysing the data regarding the Arbëresh communities' attitudes towards Arbëresh and standard Albanian.

III.2.5.1. Arbëresh vitality

The procedure below was used for analysing the data collected in each of the three villages. The methodology used for analysing the data about Arbëresh vitality is based on quantitative methods, because only in this way is it possible to investigate whether there are dependencies among variables; their correlation will tell whether the Arbëresh vitality depends on the subjects' particular demographic and social variables.

The following steps were taken in the analysis of data:

1. classification of the variables:
 - 1.1. dependent variables:
 - 1.1.1. subjects' competence in Arbëresh,
 - 1.1.2. subjects' proficiency in Arbëresh basic skills – reading, writing, speaking, listening,

- 1.1.3. subjects' choice of Italian vs Arbëresh in different domains,
 - 1.1.4. subjects' choice of Italian vs Arbëresh with friends of different ages,
 - 1.1.5. subjects' choice of Italian vs Arbëresh in topic-bound conversations,
 - 1.1.6. subjects' choice of Italian vs Arbëresh when dreaming and mental counting;
- 1.2. independent variables can be grouped as follows
- 1.2.1. Subjects' background variables (age, gender, level of education, occupation³),
 - 1.2.2. Parents' background variables (level of education, occupation, degree of competence in Arbëresh⁴),
 - 1.2.3. Grandparents' background variables (degree of competence in Arbëresh).
2. The statistical package SPSS was used for estimating the statistical association between the variables through a linear equation, which predicted the values of a dependent variable from knowledge of specified values of same independent variables – i.e. predictors. The type of the regression used – categorical regression – was chosen since it allows the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data;
3. Graphical representation of the interaction between the dependent variables and the statistically significant predictors.

The coding frame was as follows:

Table 19 Coding frame for the main study

Variable	Gloss	Code
Subj. Id	Identity code	1..106
Gender		1= female 2= male

Age		Layer 1= 3-18 years old Layer 2= 19-39 years old Layer 3= 40-69 years old Layer 4= 70 and over
S. edu.	Subject's level of education	1= none 2= primary 3= secondary 4= high 5= higher
S. occup.	Subject's occupation	1= sector I 2= sector II 3= sector III ⁵ 4= housewife 5= unemployed 6= student
Par. edu.	Father and mother's level of education	1= none 2= primary 3= secondary 4= high 5= higher
Par. occup.	Father's and mother's occupation	1= sector I 2= sector II 3= sector III 4= housewife 5= unemployed 6= student
Par. comp.	Father and mother's competence in Arbëresh	1= active 2= passive 3= none
Pt. gpar. Comp.	Paternal grandfather's and grandmother's competence in Arbëresh	1= active 2= passive 3= none
Mt. gpar. comp.	Maternal grandfather's and grandmother's competence in Arbëresh	1= active 2= passive 3= none
S. comp.	Subject's competence in Arbëresh	1= active 2= passive 3= none

Write Read Speak Listen	Self-assessment of writing, reading, speaking and listening ability in Arbëresh	1= very good 2= good 3= average 4= poor 5= none
Use family	Language choice (Italian/Arbëresh) with parents, siblings and grandparents Scale =1..10	Italian grade:(1..10) Arbëresh grade: (1..10)
Use school	Language choice (Italian/Arbëresh) with teacher and schoolmates Scale =1..10	Italian grade :(1..10) Arbëresh grade :(1..10)
Use L ₀ , L ₁ , L ₂ , L ₃ , L ₄ , L ₅ , L ₆	Language choice (Italian/Arbëresh) with friends of layer 0, layer 1, layer 2, layer 3, layer 4, layer 5, layer 6 Scale =1..10	Italian grade:(1..10) Arbëresh grade:(1..10)
Topic	Language choice (Italian/Arbëresh) in topic-bound conversation: daily life, agriculture, sport, economics and politics Scale =1..10	Italian (grade: 1..10) Arbëresh (grade: 1..10)
Non-com.	Language choice (Italian/Arbëresh) when dreaming, and mental counting Scale =1..10	Italian (grade: 1..10) Arbëresh (grade: 1..10)

III.2.5.2. Attitudes towards Arbëresh and standard Albanian

In order to show the communities' attitudes towards Arbëresh and standard Albanian, different kinds of charts will be used to present the type of answers given by the subjects. In the case of Arbëresh transmission, the data obtained were grouped into families. Their family trees will show how much the parents' willingness to transmit the language to their off-spring influences their children's degree of competence in Arbëresh.

Chapter III.3.

Campomarino results

The sample used for the sociolinguistic survey carried out in Campomarino is made up of 22 subjects. The distribution of the informants according to their “age”, “gender”, “level of education” and “occupation” is as follows:

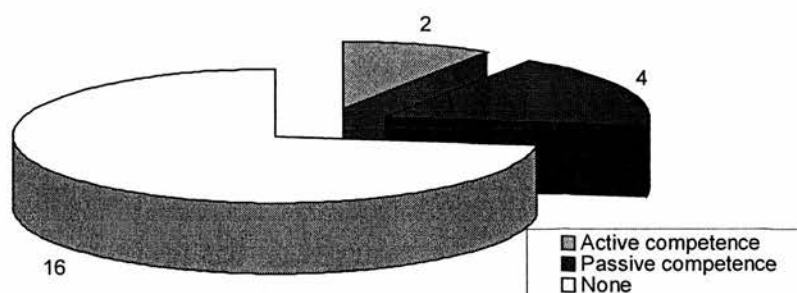
Table 20 C. Distribution of the subjects

Age	Gender	Level of education	Occupation
Layer 1 (3-18) = 23%	Female = 50%	None = 9%	Sector I = 5%
Layer 2 (19-39) = 27%	Male = 50%	Primary = 28%	Sector II = 27%
Layer 3 (40-69) = 36%		Secondary = 41%	Sector III = 14%
Layer 4 (70 or over) = 14%		High = 27%	Housewife = 22%
		Higher = 5%	Student = 32%

III.3.1. COMPETENCE IN ARBËRESH

The degree of competence in Arbëresh is graphically represented in the following figure¹:

Figure 13 C. Degree of competence



Arbëresh vitality in Campomarino is very low: the majority of the subjects do not have any type of competence in Arbëresh, being monolingual in Italian.

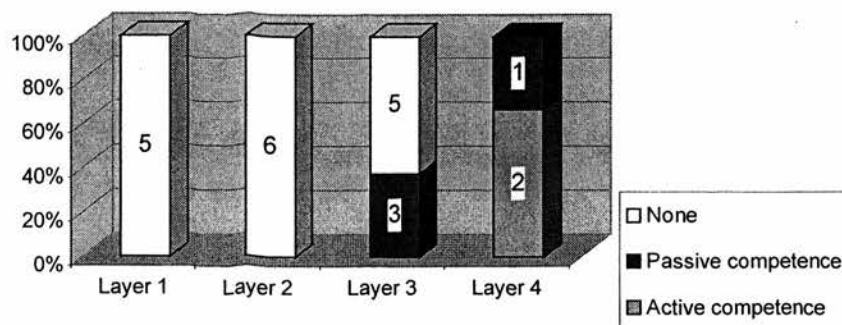
The results of categorical regression, used to see how much of the variation in competence is due to the subjects' background variables, are shown in the following table:

Table 21 C. "Competence" and subjects' background variables

Predictor	
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.850$, $R \text{ multiple}=.922$; $p=.001$
"Age"	$\text{Beta} = -.689$, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	$p>.05$
"Occupation"	$\text{Beta}=.363$, $p<.05$

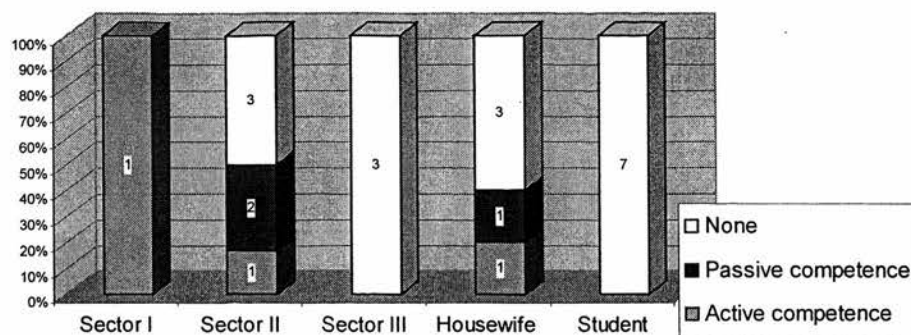
The variation in the "competence" can be predicted by the model ($p=.001$), even though the significant predictors are "age" ($p<.0001$) and "occupation" ($p<.05$) only. The interaction between the dependent variable and "age" is graphically represented in the following figure:

Figure 14 C. "Competence" by "age"



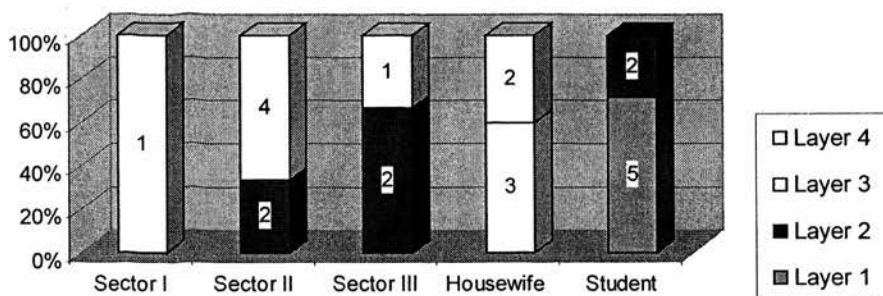
From the picture, it emerges that none of the subjects of the first three layers have active competence in Arbëresh, a degree of competence which can be seen in layer 4 only. The interaction between "competence" and "occupation" is represented in the following figure:

Figure 15 C. “Competence” by “occupation”



Considering the occupations related to the three sectors, an increasing hierarchy in competence can be observed. Indeed, the proficiency in Arbëresh increases moving from sector II to sector I, that is from occupations in services to occupations related to agriculture. The class of housewives presents a high degree of variation in the “competence”, whereas none of the students have any proficiency in Arbëresh at all. This result can be understood considering the interaction between “occupation” and “age”:

Figure 16 C. “Occupation” by “age”



Clearly, the types of occupations are linked to the speakers’ age: the higher the sector, the lower the age. The group of housewives is related to high age layers, whereas the class of students is associated with low age layers. Therefore, the degree of competence in Arbëresh increases along with the speakers’ age.

The outcomes of a categorical regression analysis, using the subjects’ degree of competence as the dependent variable and the parents’ variables as predictors, are presented in the table below:

Table 22 C. “Competence” and parents’ background variables

Predictors	
"Father's level of education + occupation + competence" + "Mother's level of education + occupation + competence"	$R^2=1.000$, $R \text{ multiple}=1.000$, $p<.0001$
"Father's level of education"	Beta= -.364, $p<.0001$
"Father's occupation"	Beta= .015, $p=.001$
"Father's competence"	Beta=-.292, $p<.0001$
"Mother's level of education"	Beta=1.183, $p<.0001$
"Mother's occupation"	Beta=.010, $p<.05$
"Mother's competence"	Beta=.287, $p<.0001$

All the predictors entered in the model are statistically significant.

The following table presents the results of a categorical regression, where the grandparents' competences in Arbëresh are used as predictors of the subjects' competence:

Table 23 C. “Competence” and grandparents’ competences

Predictors	
"Paternal grandfather's and grandmother's competence" + "Maternal grandfather's and grandmother's competence"	$R^2=.384$, $R \text{ multiple}=.620$; $p>.05$

From the results it emerges that none of the predictors could explain the variation in the subjects' competence.

The rest of the categorical regression analysis should have had active Arbëresh competence as the dependent variable, but it was not possible to run any statistical analysis because of the very low number of subjects with active competence, i.e. 2 subjects only.²

III.3.2. ARBËRESH COMMUNITY'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS ARBËRESH LANGUAGE AND STANDARD ALBANIAN

III.3.2.1. Arbëresh transmission

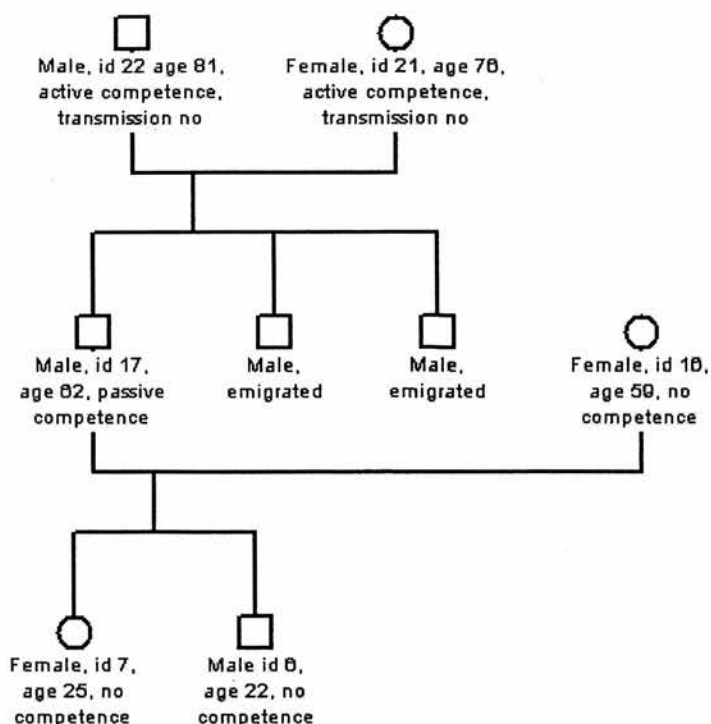
The small percentage of subjects with active competence in Arbëresh were asked whether their intention was/will be to transmit the language to the next generation.

The results are very clear, since none of the subjects having active competence in Arbëresh intended to transmit the language to the next generation, whatever their age is.

The data were collected from three families of Campomarino, represented here through family trees, where each member is labelled by the following information:

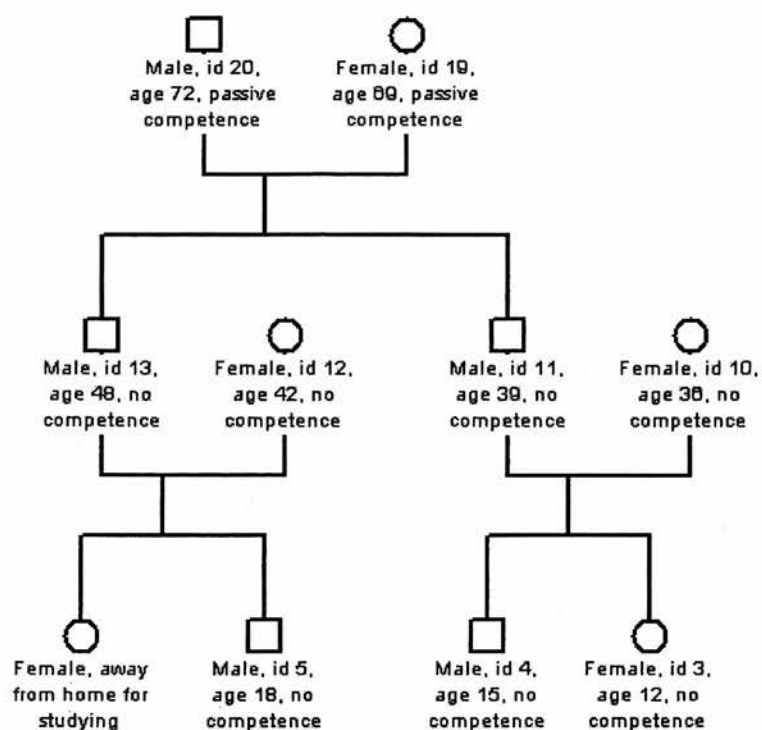
1. Identity number;
2. Gender;
3. Degree of competence in Arbëresh;
4. Intention of transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation.

Figure 17 C. family I



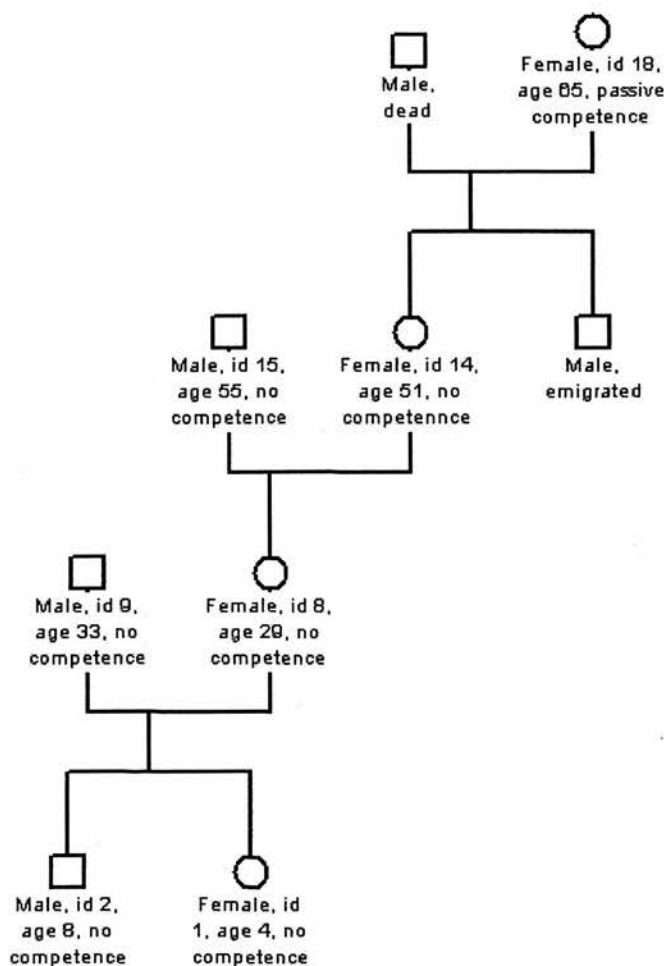
From the figure it emerges that the members of the first generation have active competence in Arbëresh, but neither of them intended to transmit the language to their off-spring. The parents' intention did influence their child's degree of competence, since id 17 has passive competence. Having married a woman with no competence, id 17's own children are monolingual in Italian.

Figure 18 C. family II



Members of the first generation have passive competence, whereas their children do not have any degree of competence in Arbëresh; nor, obviously, do the subjects of the third generation.

Figure 19 C. family III



The picture depicted here is similar to the previous one. Id 18, belonging to the first generation, has passive competence in Arbëresh, but none of the following generations shows any knowledge of the language.

III.3.2.1.1. Discussion

The family trees depicted above show two very clear trends; the former relating to the shift from Arbëresh to Italian, the latter concerning the influence the parents' decision to transmit the language has on their children. As far as the first point is concerned, we observe the presence of a pattern representing the regular passage from active competence to passive and finally to no competence at all. Moreover, the age of passively competent subjects and those without any knowledge of Arbëresh is a clear indicator that the shift is in its advanced stage, as is testified to by the presence of only

two actively Arbëresh competent subjects in layer 4. Hence, it seems that the parents' intention not to transmit the language to their off-spring, along with their negative attitudes towards the language, influence both their children's degree of competence in Arbëresh and their negative attitudes towards the language.

III.3.2.2. The most important language

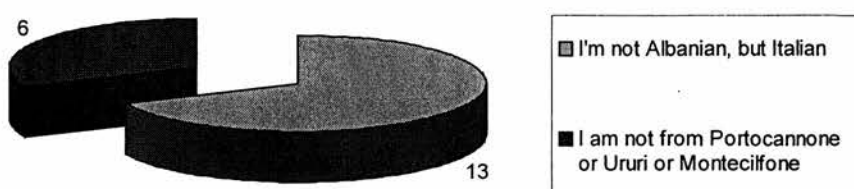
All the subjects forming the sample were asked their opinion on the main language which should be spoken in their community, i.e. Italian, Arbëresh or both. All the subjects consider Italian to be the most important language to speak in the community. They justified it saying that they are Italians, and have nothing to do with Albanians and/or Arbëresh people.

III.3.2.3. Satisfaction and desire

None of the active speakers demonstrated pride for speaking Arbëresh, whatever their age is. The common reason given by the subjects was "*nessuno di noi parla Arbëresh, noi siamo Italiani. Che senso ha saperlo?*" ("nobody speaks Arbëresh, we are Italian. What's the use of knowing it?").

Moreover, neither the Italian monolinguals nor the passive Arbëresh speakers³ would like to learn it. The reasons they gave are shown in the figure below:

Figure 20 C. lack of desire



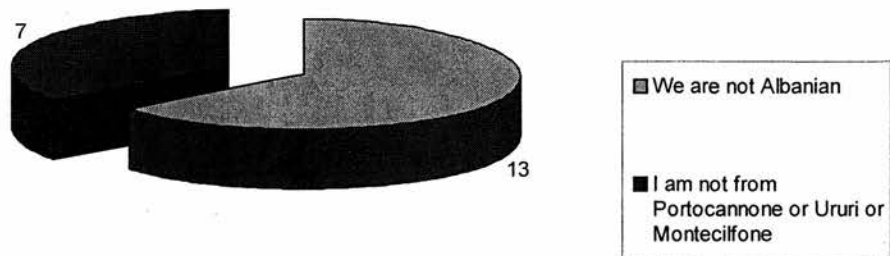
The majority of the subjects would not like to learn Arbëresh, for reasons of national identity. The most common comment from them was "*non abbiamo niente a che fare né con gli Albanesi, né con gli Arbëresh*" ("we do not have anything to do either with Albanians or Arbëresh people"). A similar feeling underlay another justification: "*non sono né di Portocannone, né di Ururi, né di Montecilfone*" ("I am not from either Portocannone, or Ururi or Montecilfone").

III.3.2.4. Standard Albanian in schools

The subjects⁴ were asked about the introduction of standard Albanian in the schools, either as a school subject, or as an educational medium.

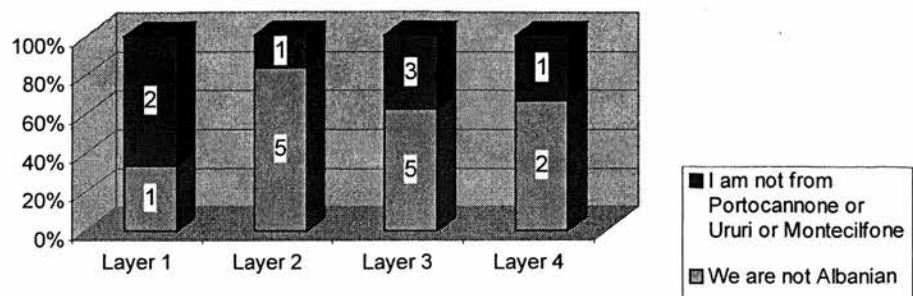
The results are very clear, since none of the subjects would like to have Albanian as a school subject. The reasons they gave are shown in the following pie-chart:

Figure 21 C. Albanian as a school subject: negative opinion



The informants feel themselves to belong neither to the Arbëresh community nor to the Albanian group. The following chart shows the kinds of reasons the subjects gave according to their age.

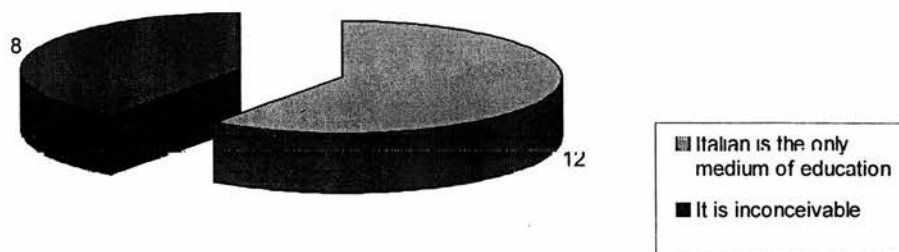
Figure 22 C. Albanian as school subject: negative opinion by “age”



The contrast between their national identity and that of Albanians and/or other Arbëresh communities in Molise can be observed in this case too. The most common comment from the subjects of all the layers was: “*non siamo Albanesi, perché dovremmo imparare la loro lingua?*” (“we are not Albanian, why should we learn their language?”). There is no reason for them to learn a language which is useless for all Italians.

Consequently, the possible introduction of standard Albanian as an educational medium is inconceivable for all the subjects. This is evident from the reasons they gave:

Figure 23 C. Albanian as a medium of education: negative opinion



The opinion according to which Italian can be the only medium of education is common to all subjects, to the point that the introduction of Albanian as a medium of education is considered to be inconceivable. This is clear in the following piece of conversation with a passive Arbëresh speakers of layer 4 :

- Investigator: *“se l’albanese fosse inserito nella scuola come mezzo di istruzione, saresti d’accordo?”* (“would you support the introduction of Albanian as an educational medium?”)

- Subject: *“beh... non so... forse non ho capito la domanda...”* (“beh... I don’t know, maybe I didn’t understand the question...”)

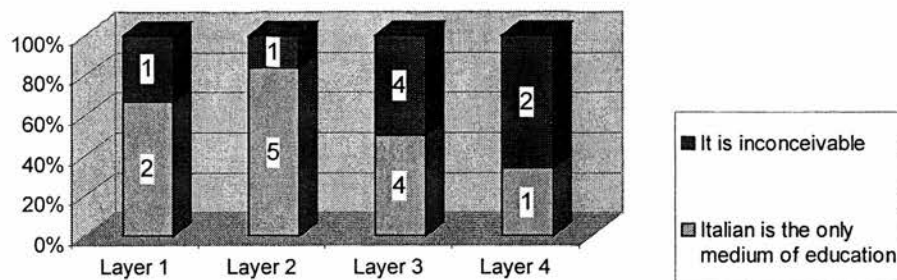
- Investigator: *“ad esempio, se la matematica venisse spiegata in albanese, o la storia venisse...”* (“for example, if maths were taught in Albanian, or if history were...”) [sudden interruption]

- Subject: *“ma dove?”* (“but, where?”)

- Investigator: *“qui...”* (“here...”)

- Subject: *“cosa? Ma stai scherzando? Insomma non serve a niente imparare l’albanese, figurati usarlo al posto dell’Italiano! Siamo in Italia, siamo Italiani, dobbiamo usare l’Italiano e basta!”* (“what? Are you joking? It’s just useless to learn Albanian, can you imagine using it in place of Italian? We are in Italy, we are Italian, we must use Italian!, that’s all”).

Figure 24 C. Albanian as a medium of education: negative opinion by “age”



As shown in the figure, the percentage of people who consider this hypothesis to be inconceivable increases as the speakers' age increases.

III.3.2.5. Language spoken in the community

Both bilinguals, passive speakers and monolinguals of Italian⁵ were asked to label the language spoken in their community, i.e. Arbëresh, Albanian or both of them. None of the subjects chose one of these options, indeed all of them answered that they speak none of those languages, they speak Italian.

Here are some comments from a subject with no competence in Arbëresh of layer 3:

- Investigator: *“Quale lingua si parla nel tuo paese?”* (“which language is spoken in your community?”)

- Subject: *“quale lingua?... ma... insomma volete capire che noi parliamo solo l'Italiano, non è difficile vero?... siamo Italiani!! Non centriamo niente né con gli Albanesi né con gli Arbëresh!!”* (“which language?... but ... is it so hard to understand that we only speak Italian?... we are Italian!! We do not have anything to do either with Albanians or with Arbëresh people!!”). It is evident that the subject does not want his village to be taken for an Arbëresh community, particularly when he is talking with a member of the Italian community.

III.3.3. SUMMARY

The results presented above clearly show an overwhelming decline of Arbëresh in the village of Campomarino. The vitality of this language is so low that none of the

subjects from layer 1, 2 and 3 are actively competent in Arbëresh. The fact that only in layer 4 are there active Arbëresh speakers, means that the intergenerational transmission has ceased. This is proved by the fact that none of the subjects, whatever their age is, had the intention of transmitting the language to the next generation, as seen in the family trees.

The strong national identity, which contrasts with Arbëresh and/or Albanian identity, is the *leitmotif* of their answers regarding their attitudes towards Arbëresh. All the subjects wish to have nothing to do with Arbëresh people and/or Albanians, and do not wish to be taken for them. The feeling of belonging to Italy may even have been strengthened because the Campomarino community is aware of the fact that Italians commonly consider them to be the “historical” Albanians. The Campomarino community wishes to be considered fully Italian, and its members are trying to distinguish themselves from the other Arbëresh communities in Molise. It may be for this reason that the community is not even willing to consider a hypothetical introduction of standard Albanian in schools.

Chapter III.4.

Portocannone results

The sociolinguistic survey carried out in Portocannone is based on the data collected from a sample of 106 subjects. The following table shows the distribution of the informants according to their “age”, “gender”, “level of education” and “occupation”:

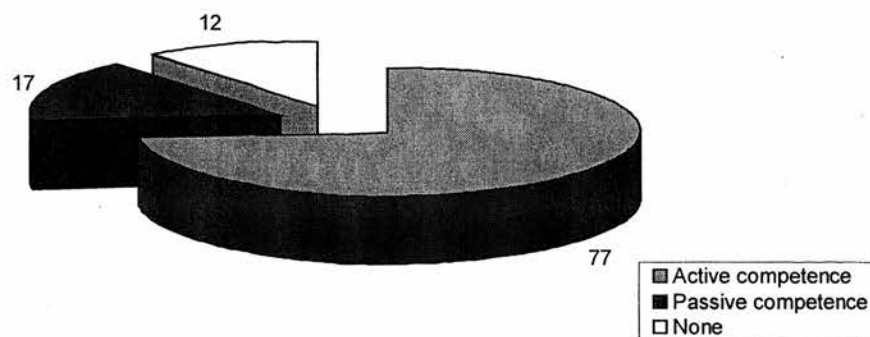
Table 24 P. Distribution of the subjects

Age	Gender	Level of education	Occupation
Layer 1 (3-18) = 19%	Female = 48%	None = 16%	Sector I = 13%
Layer 2 (19-39) = 29%	Male = 52%	Primary = 26%	Sector II = 7%
Layer 3 (40-69) = 37%		Secondary = 28%	Sector III = 28%
Layer 4 (70 or over) 15%		High = 25%	Unemployed = 2%
		Higher = 5%	Housewife = 25%
			Student = 25%

III.4.1. COMPETENCE IN ARBËRESH

The degree of competence in Arbëresh is graphically represented in the pie-chart¹ below:

Figure 25 P. Degree of competence



The figure shows a clear hierarchy of competence: active competence is much more frequent than passive competence, and there is a low percentage of subjects who do not have any knowledge of Arbëresh.

The situation found in Portocannone is completely different from Campomarino. In the former village the majority of subjects – 16 are monolingual in Italian, whereas in Portocannone the majority of respondents – 77 have active competence in Arbëresh.

The results of categorical regression, used to see how much of the variation in the degree of competence is due to the subjects' background variables, are shown in the following table:

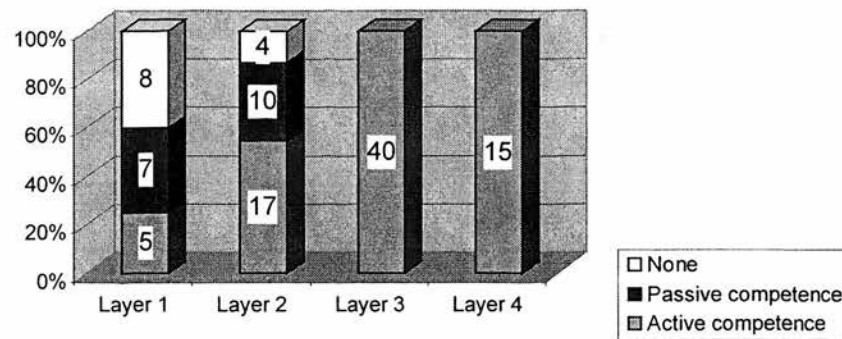
Table 25 P. "Competence" and subjects' background variables

Predictor	
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.689$, $R \text{ multiple}=.830$; $p<.0001$
"Age"	$\text{Beta}=-.264$, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$\text{Beta}=.142$, $p<.05$
"Level of education"	$\text{Beta}=-.064$, $p>.05$
"Occupation"	$\text{Beta}=.661$, $p<.0001$

The model formed by the subjects' background variables is highly significant ($p<.0001$). Among the variables in it, "age" makes a high significant contribution to the variation in the competence ($p<.0001$), hence confirming the original prediction. This is the case for all the other variables, apart from "level of education" ($p>.05$).

The interaction between the dependent variable and "age" is graphically represented in the following chart:

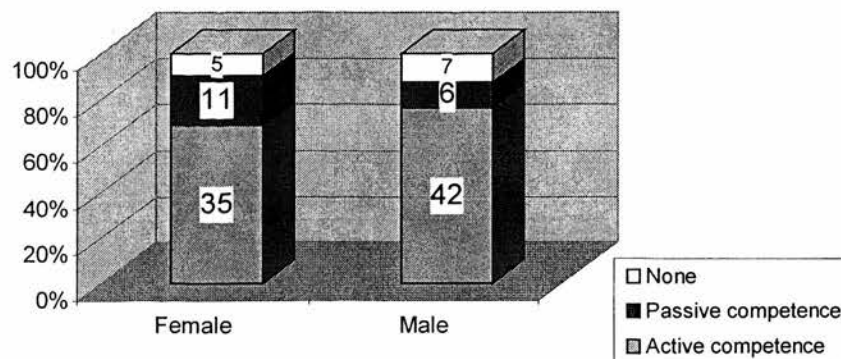
Figure 26 P. “Competence” by “age”



The picture shows that active competence increases moving up the age layers, reaching its highest level with subjects of layer 3 and 4, where all of them have active competence in Arbëresh. This is entirely as was expected.

The interaction between “competence” and “gender” can be seen in the following figure:

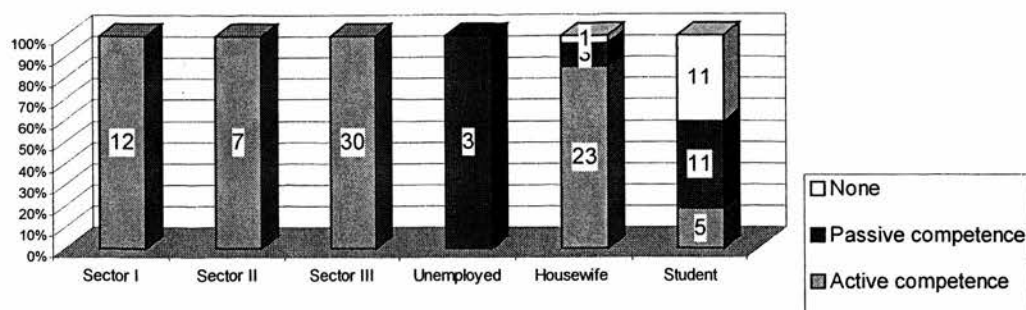
Figure 27 P. “Competence” by “gender”



Apart from a higher percentage of men with active competence in Arbëresh, the most evident difference between the two genders is in the frequency of subjects with passive competence: the percentage is higher in the case of females than males. However, the percentage of subjects with no competence in Arbëresh is higher in the case of males than females.

The following chart shows the interaction between “competence” and “occupation”:

Figure 28 P. "Competence" by "occupation"



Among the types of occupations the class of students has the highest degree of variation in the competence: the majority of them have passive competence in Arbëresh, followed by a percentage of subjects with no competence and a further decreasing percentage of subjects with active competence. However, the high variation depends on the fact that within the class of students there are subjects from 3 to 19 years old, who form the core of the variation in competence, on the basis of the variable "age". Moreover, the fact that 100% of the unemployed subjects are all passively competent in Arbëresh could be explained by the fact that only 3 subjects belong to this class, and so is only a very low degree of variation in competence is possible.

The results of categorical regression, using the parents' background variables as predictors, and the degree of competence as the dependent variable are shown in the following table:

Table 26 P. "Competence" and parents' background variables

Predictors	
"Father's level of education + occupation + competence" + "Mother's level of education + occupation + competence"	$R^2=.619$, $R \text{ multiple}=.787$; $p<.0001$
"Father's level of education"	$\text{Beta}=.615$, $p<.0001$
"Father's occupation"	$p>.05$
"Father's competence"	$p>.05$
"Mother's level of education"	$\text{Beta}=.316$, $p<.0001$
"Mother's occupation"	$\text{Beta}=.322$, $p<.001$
"Mother's competence"	$p>.05$

As can be seen from the results, the model entered as predictor is statistically significant. Moreover, among the predictors in it, the father's and the mother's degrees of competence are not significant. This is because the variable "father's competence"

has a variation equal to zero - that is, all the subjects' fathers are active Arbëresh speakers -, whereas, in the variable "mother's competence", the variation is very low - that is, the majority of them are active Arbëresh speakers. Therefore, neither of the parents' competences are factors which could predict the subjects' proficiency in the language. Moreover, both the parents' "levels of education" make a significant contribution to the variation in subjects' competence, whereas in the case of the parents' "occupations", the only statistically significant predictor is "mother's occupation".

The results of categorical regression using the grandparents' background variables as predictors, and the degree of competence as dependent variable are shown in the following table:

Table 27 P. "Competence" and grandparents' competences

Predictors	
"Paternal grandfather' and grandmother's competence" + "Maternal grandfather' and grandmother's competence"	$R^2=.159$, $R \text{ multiple}=.398$; $p<.05$
"Paternal grandfather's competence"	$p>.05$
"Paternal grandmother's competence"	$p>.05$
"Maternal grandfather's competence"	$\text{Beta}=.692$, $p=.001$
"Maternal grandmother's competence"	$p>.05$

The model makes a significant contribution to explaining the variation in the subjects' competence. However, it is worth noting that in the case of both paternal grandparents' competences, the tolerance to these variables is $<.0001$, making them not significant at all. As above, this is because the majority of the subjects' grandparents are active Arbëresh speakers. Therefore, these variables could not predict the variation in the subjects' competence. The single significant predictor is "maternal grandfather's competence".

III.4.2. LANGUAGE CHOICE: ITALIAN VS ARBËRESH

In this section the active speakers' proficiency in the four Arbëresh basic skills will be investigated. An analysis of the speakers' choice between Italian and Arbëresh will follow.

III.4.2.1. The four skills

As far as the writing and reading skills are concerned, none of the subjects are proficient in them at all. This is entirely as was expected, given the absence of a standardised Arbëresh.

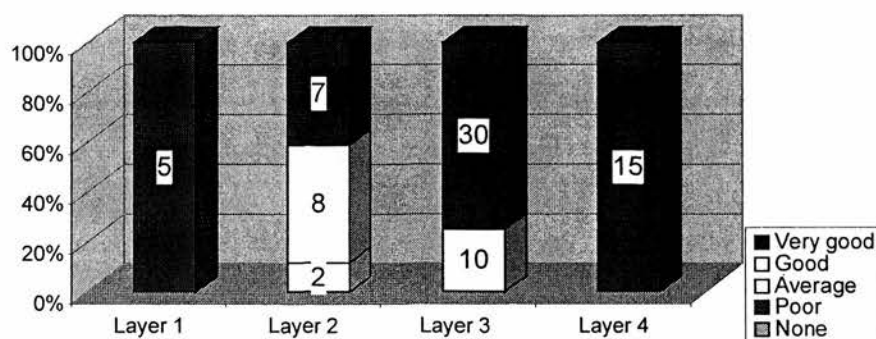
In order to see how much of the variation in “competence” could be predicted by the subjects’ background variables, the categorical regression analysis was run, using the subjects’ self-assessed speaking proficiency:

Table 28 P. “Speaking” and subjects’ background variables

Predictor	
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2=1.000$, $R \text{ multiple}=1.000$; $p<.0001$
“Age”	Beta=-.824, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	Beta=.002, $p<.0001$
“Level of education”	Beta=.000, $p<.001$
“Occupation”	Beta=.176, $p<.0001$

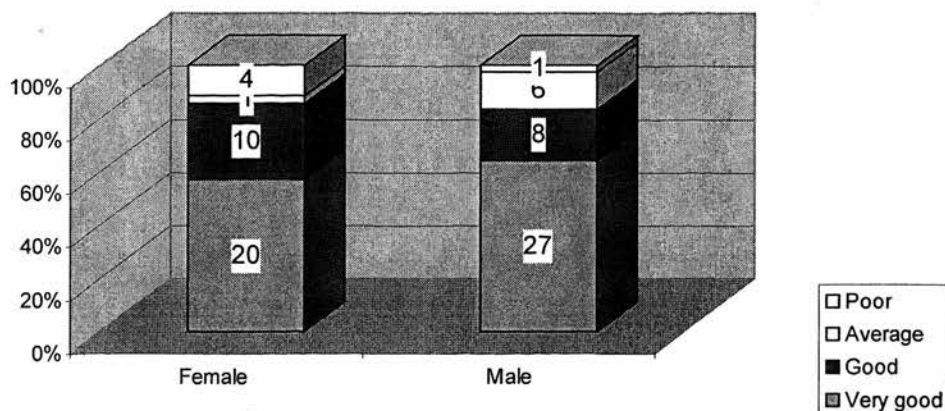
All the factors make a significant contribution to the variation in speaking proficiency. The interactions between the statistically significant predictors and the dependent variable “speaking” can be seen in the following charts:

Figure 29 P. “Speaking” by “age”



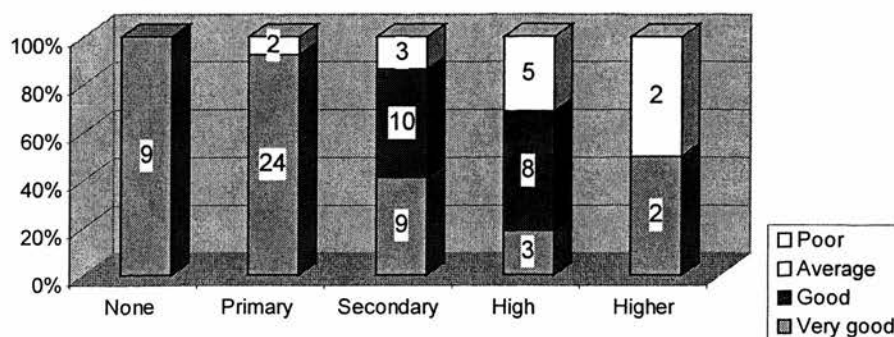
The proficiency in speaking increases moving up the layers: from layer 1 where the speaking ability is self-judged by all the subjects as “poor”, to layer 4 where all the subjects self- assessed their speaking proficiency as “very good”.

Figure 30 P. “Speaking” by “gender”



The figure shows a difference in the degree of speaking proficiency between the two genders. Men show a higher degree of proficiency in speaking than women do.

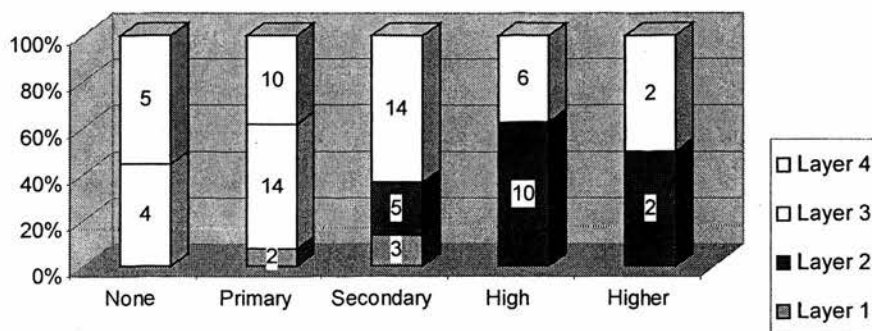
Figure 31 P. “Speaking” by “level of education”



As the figure makes clear, the proficiency decreases as the level of education increases. Indeed, all the subjects without any schooling self-assessed their speaking proficiency as “very good”, whereas a high percentage of subjects with higher education self-judged their proficiency as “average”. Moreover, two particularities seem to oppose this general trend. The former involves an opposite trend between subjects with high and higher education: subjects with higher education are more proficient in speaking than those with high education. However, it is worth remembering the number of informants forming the two groups: subjects with higher education correspond to 5% of the sample, that is 4 informants, whereas subjects with high education make up 25%, that is 16 informants. Therefore, it is clear that in the latter group there is more variation in competence than in the former. The latter involves a small percentage of subjects

with primary and secondary education, who self-judged their speaking ability as “poor”. In order to understand this result, the “level of education” should be related to “age”, as shown in the following figure:

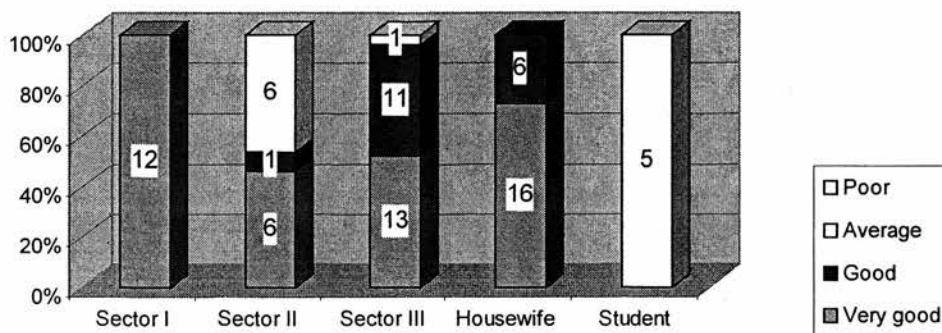
Figure 32 P. “Level of education” by “age”



“Level of education” seems to be strictly related to the speakers’ age: the higher the speaker’s age, the lower the level of education and the higher the degree of proficiency. Therefore, the subjects who self-judged their speaking ability as “poor” belong to low age layers. The general trend outlined here confirms what was expected.

The following figure represents the interaction between “speaking” and the speakers’ type of occupation:

Figure 33 P. “Speaking” by “occupation”

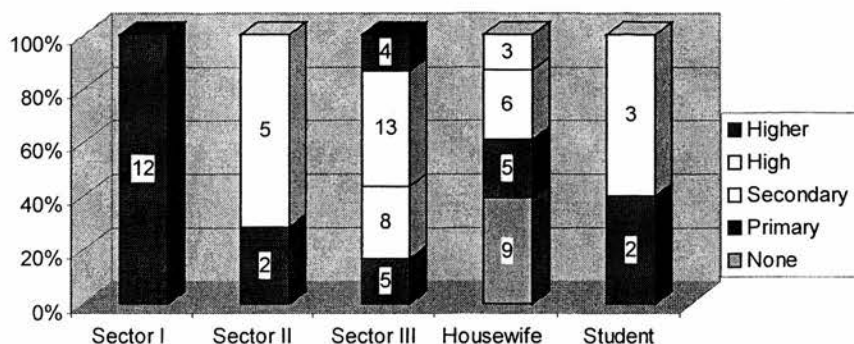


“Occupation” is a predictor which makes a very significant contribution to explaining the variation in the speaking proficiency. Considering the type of occupation related to the three sectors, it emerges that occupations related to agriculture, that is sector I, are associated with the highest proficiency in the speaking skill. This type of occupation is associated with the lowest levels of education too, which in turn are

related to the highest age layers. In other words, the hierarchy in the proficiency degree depicted by the figure is clear: the proficiency increases together with the decreasing of sector. The housewives show a very high degree of proficiency; whereas the students show low proficiency.

The interaction between the active speakers' level of education and their occupation is represented in the chart below:

Figure 34 P. "Occupation" by "level of education"



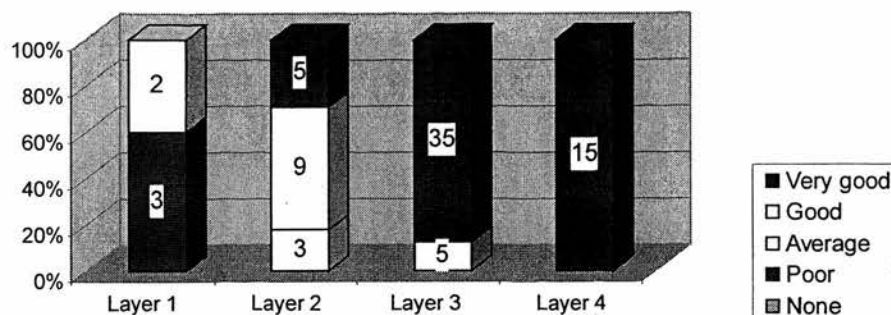
As can be seen from the figure, the type of occupation is associated with "level of education", which in turn is related to the speakers' age. Therefore, this result confirms the finding according to which the highest degree of proficiency is related to high age layers.

Table 29 P. "Listening" and subjects' background variables

Predictors	
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.798$, $R \text{ multiple}=.893$; $p<.0001$
"Age"	$\text{Beta}=-.768$, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	$\text{Beta}=.168$, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	$p>.05$

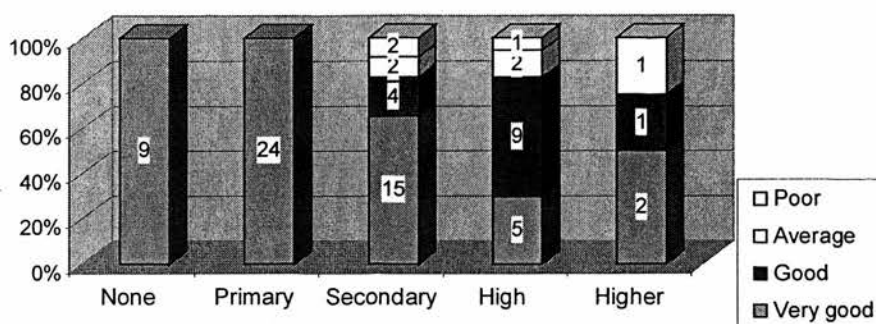
The model formed by the subjects' background variables is highly significant ($p<.0001$). Among the individual predictors, "age" and "level of education" are significant to explain the variation in the listening proficiency. This is pictured in the following charts:

Figure 35 P. “Listening” by “age”



Confirming the original hypothesis, in this case too, a clear hierarchy can be observed: the degree of proficiency increases moving up the age layers.

Figure 36 P. “Listening” by “level of education”



The figure shows a decreasing hierarchy in the listening proficiency moving from subjects without any schooling to those with a high level of education. Moreover, an inverted trend can be observed between subjects with a high level of education and those with higher education. However, as discussed above, their number, too small to be statistically significant, should be borne in mind.

In conclusion, regarding the subjects’ proficiencies in Arbëresh speaking and listening, the main trend is that they are age related, increasing with the speakers’ age.

III.4.2.2. The family

The variation in the subjects’ choice between Italian and Arbëresh when talking to family members with active competence in Arbëresh is the object of investigation of this section.

III.4.2.2.1. Parents

The following table shows the results of the categorical regression, using the subject's background variables as predictors, and the subjects' language choice when talking to their parents as dependent variables, in order to see whether the dependent variable can be predicted by the independent variables:

Table 30 P. Language choice with parents

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.902$, R multiple=.950, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.911$, R multiple=.954, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta=-.822, $p<.0001$	Beta=.823, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.112, $p<.05$	Beta=-.107, $p<.05$
"Occupation"	Beta=.224, $p<.0001$	Beta=.210, $p<.0001$

In both the cases, the model is highly significant to explain the variation in the choice between Italian and Arbëresh. Considering the variable "age", in the case of the use of Italian, the Beta coefficient is negative (Beta=-.822), meaning that as the speakers' age increases, the use of Italian decreases. The opposite trend can be seen with Arbëresh (Beta=.823): the use of Arbëresh increases with the speakers' age. This is entirely as expected.

III.4.2.2.2. Siblings

The following table shows the results of categorical regression using the subjects' background variables as predictors, and the language choice when talking to siblings as the dependent variable:

Table 31 P. Language choice with siblings

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.883$, R multiple=.940, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.887$, R multiple=.942, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta=-.820, $p<.0001$	Beta=.782, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.122, $p<.05$	Beta=-.146, $p<.05$
"Occupation"	Beta=.205, $p<.0001$	Beta=.188, $p<.0001$

The variation in the use of Italian and Arbëresh in conversations with siblings can be predicted by the model. Moreover, all the individual predictors are significant,

apart from “gender”. The age trend outlined for conversations with parents is noticeable in this case too.

III.4.2.2.3. Grandparents

The following table shows the results obtained from a categorical regression analysis where the language choice in conversations with grandparents is the dependent variable, and the subjects’ background variables are used as predictors:

Table 32 P. Language choice with grandparents

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.904$, R multiple=.951, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.911$, R multiple=.955, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta=-.789, $p<.0001$	Beta=.793, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.120, $p=.001$	Beta=-.114, $p<.05$
"Occupation"	Beta=.295, $p<.0001$	Beta=.273, $p<.0001$

As regards the use of both the languages, the model is highly significant, apart from the variable “gender”. Therefore, the general hypothesis is confirmed, since the use of Arbëresh is age-related in this case too.

In conclusion, it emerges that, on the one hand, the use of Arbëresh increases with the addressers’ age, on the other hand the use increases with the addressees’ age, going from the lowest degree of use with siblings, to parents, to grandparents.

III.4.2.3. The school

After filtering the subjects without any schooling from the sample, the speakers’ language choice in conversations with actively competent speakers in the primary school of Portocannone is used as the dependent variable to be predicted by two background variables: “age” and “gender”.

III.4.2.3.1. Teacher

The results of the categorical regression where the language choice when talking to the teacher is used as the dependent variable, and the subjects’ “gender” and “age” as predictors are shown in the following table:

Table 33 P. Language choice with teacher

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender"	$R^2=.756, R_{multiple}=.869, p<.0001$	$R^2=.506, R_{multiple}=.711, p<.0001$
"Age"	$Beta=-.867, p<.0001$	$Beta=.687, p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$

For the use of two languages, the model entered as predictor makes a significant contribution to explaining the variation in language choice. However, of the two variables forming the model, "age" is the only statistically significant predictor. In the case of Italian, the Beta coefficient is negative ($Beta=-.867$) showing that the dependent variable and "age" are correlated negatively: as "age" increases, the use of Italian with teacher decreases. Whereas, in the case of Arbëresh, the Beta coefficient is positive ($Beta=.687$), showing that its use is correlated positively: as age increases, the use of Arbëresh with teacher increases.

III.4.2.3.2. Schoolmates

The subjects' background variables were entered as predictors for the language choice in conversations with schoolmates. The categorical regression analysis shows the following:

Table 34 P. Language choice with schoolmates

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender"	$R^2=.842, R_{multiple}=.917, p<.0001$	$R^2=.543, R_{multiple}=.734, p<.0001$
"Age"	$Beta=-.926, p<.0001$	$Beta=.734, p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$

As with the previous results, "age" is the only statistically significant predictor in the model, and is significant for the variation in the use of both the languages.

Therefore, this confirms that in the case of conversations in the school domain, the use of Arbëresh is age-related. However, Arbëresh is used less in the school domain than in the case of conversations with members of the family, confirming that as the domain becomes more formal, the national language is more used than the minority language.

III.4.2.4. Friends

This section deals with the subjects' choice between Italian and Arbëresh in conversations with different aged friends, divided in seven cohorts as shown in the following sections.

III.4.2.4.1. Friends from 3 to 5

The dependent variable is the choice between Italian and Arbëresh in conversations with friends from 3 to 5 years old, and the subjects' background variables are the predictors. Both of them have been entered in the categorical regression analysis as shown below:

Table 35 P. Language choice with friends from 3 to 5

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.457$, R multiple=.676, $p<.0001$	$p>.05$
"Age"	Beta=-.387, $p<.0001$	
"Gender"	$p>.05$	
"Level of education"	Beta=.440, $p<.0001$	
"Occupation"	$p>.05$	

In the case of the use of Italian when talking to friends from 3 to 5, the model formed by the informants' background variables is significant ($p<.0001$); particularly the predictors "age" (with $p<.0001$) and "level of education" (with $p<.0001$). Whereas, the use of Arbëresh cannot be predicted by any variable considered here. This means that, whatever the addressers' age is, Arbëresh is used very little with friends from 3 to 5 years old.

III.4.2.4.2. Friends from 6 to 10

For the choice between Italian and Arbëresh, the dependent variables used in a categorical regression analysis may be predicted by the independent variables as follows:

Table 36 P. Language choice with friends from 6 to 10

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.485$, R multiple=.696, $p<.0001$	$p>.05$
"Age"	Beta=-.463, $p<.0001$	
"Gender"	$p>.05$	
"Level of education"	Beta=.307, $p<.0001$	
"Occupation"	$p>.05$	

It is clear from the results that the predictors “age”(p<.0001) and “level of education” (p<.0001) are statistically significant factors for the variation in the use of Italian. Whereas, in the case of Arbëresh, none of the variables is significant for predicting the low variation in its use.

III.4.2.4.3. Friends from 11 to 13

The model formed by the subjects’ background variables entered as predictor of the speakers’ choice of Italian vs Arbëresh in a categorical regression is as follows:

Table 37 P. Language choice with friends from 11 to 13

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	R ² =.475, R multiple=.689, p<.0001	p>.05
“Age”	Beta=-.456, p<.0001	
“Gender”	p>.05	
“Level of education”	Beta=.290, p<.05	
“Occupation”	p>.05	

Analysing the use of Italian, the model entered as predictor is significant (p<.0001). Moreover, all factors make a significant contribution to the variation, except the variables “gender” and “occupation” (p>.05). Whereas, in the case of Arbëresh, the model cannot predict the variation in its use. This is because Arbëresh is used very little, even with addressees aged from 11 to 13.

III.4.2.4.4. Friends from 14 to 18

In order to obtain the results from a categorical regression, the same method outlined above is used, as can be seen in the following table:

Table 38 P. Language choice with friends from 14 to 18

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	R ² =.565, R multiple=.752, p<.0001	R ² =.663, R multiple=.814, p=.001
“Age”	Beta=-.733, p<.0001	Beta=.912, p<.0001
“Gender”	p>.05	p>.05
“Level of education”	p>.05	p>.05
“Occupation”	p>.05	p>.05

Here an inverted trend between the use of Italian and Arbëresh can be noticed; in both the cases the model is significant, and considering the factor “age”, it can be observed that the Beta coefficient is negative in the case of the use of Italian (Beta=-.733), whereas it is positive for Arbëresh (Beta=.912). This means that as the addressers’ age increases the use of Arbëresh increases, whereas the use of Italian decreases.

III.4.2.4.5. Friends from 19 to 39

The group aged from 19 to 39 is the dependent variable in the categorical regression, where the subjects’ background variables are the predictors as follows:

Table 39 P. Language choice with friends from 19 to 39

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2=.736$, R multiple=.858, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.651$, R multiple=.807, $p<.0001$
“Age”	Beta= -.809, $p<.0001$	Beta=.694, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
“Level of education”	Beta=.340, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.404, $p<.0001$
“Occupation”	Beta=.171, $p<.05$	Beta=.161, $p<.05$

The variation in the use of Italian and Arbëresh can be predicted by the model, where all the predictors, apart from “gender”, are statistically significant.

III.4.2.4.6. Friends from 40 to 69

The dependent variable is the choice of languages in conversations with friends from 40 to 69, and the predictors are the subjects’ background variables. Here are the categorical regression results:

Table 40 P. Language choice with friends from 40 to 69

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2=.843$, R multiple=.918, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.835$, R multiple=.914, $p<.0001$
“Age”	Beta= -.741, $p<.0001$	Beta=.730, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
“Level of education”	Beta=.407, $p<.001$	Beta=-.397, $p<.0001$
“Occupation”	Beta=.119, $p<.05$	Beta=.121, $p<.05$

The same picture outlined by the previous results is present in this case too: for both the languages all the predictors are statistically significant, except “gender”.

III.4.2.4.7. Friends of 70 or over

The language choice in the case of conversations with friends 70 years old or over was entered as the dependent variable in a categorical regression, and the results are shown in the following table:

Table 41 P. Language choice with friends 70 or over

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.720$, R multiple=.906, $p<.001$	$R^2=.873$, R multiple=.934, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta= -.827, $p<.0001$	Beta= .895, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.291, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.142, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$

The age trend outlined with the last three groups of interlocutors is evident both for the use of Italian (Beta= -.827, $p<.001$) and for the use of Arbëresh (Beta = .895, $p<.0001$). The predictor "level of education" is highly significant, too, for the variation in the use of both the languages ($p<.0001$).

In conclusion, the language choice is determined by both the addressers' and addressees' age. The use of Arbëresh increases with their age.

III.4.2.5. Topics

The following are the results of a categorical regression analysis with the language choice in particular topic-bound conversations as the dependent variable and the subjects' background variables as predictors. The first dependent variable is the language choice between Italian and Arbëresh in daily life conversations:

Table 42 P. Language choice in topic-bound conversations: daily life

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.713$, R multiple=.845, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.713$, R multiple=.845, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta= -.510, $p<.0001$	Beta=.510, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.399, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.399, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	Beta=.189, $p<.0001$	Beta=.189, $p<.0001$

In the case of conversations in daily life, the choice of Italian vs Arbëresh can be predicted by the model introduced ($p<.0001$), particularly by the predictors "age"

($p < .0001$), “level of education” ($p < .0001$), and “occupation” ($p < .0001$) which are statistically significant for the variation in the use of both languages.

The results of the categorical regression analysis, using the choice between Italian and Arbëresh in conversations about agriculture as the dependent variable, are reported in the following table:

Table 43 P. Language choice in topic-bound conversations: agriculture

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2 = .700$, R multiple = .837, $p < .0001$	$R^2 = .659$, R multiple = .812, $p < .0001$
"Age"	Beta = -.763, $p < .0001$	Beta = .742, $p < .0001$
"Gender"	$p > .05$	$p > .05$
"Level of education"	$p > .05$	$p > .05$
"Occupation"	Beta = .207, $p < .0001$	Beta = .200, $p < .05$

Unlike the predictors “gender” and “level of education”, “age” and “occupation” are able to predict the variation in the use of Italian and Arbëresh .

Table 44 P. Language choice in topic-bound conversations: sport

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2 = .275$, R multiple = .524, $p < .05$	$p > .05$
"Age"	Beta = -.460, $p < .0001$	
"Gender"	$p > .05$	
"Level of education"	$p > .05$	
"Occupation"	Beta = .185, $p < .05$	

The table above shows the results of a categorical regression analysis using as dependent variable the language choice in conversations about agriculture. For the use of Italian, the model is significant, even though it is less significant than in conversations in daily life and about agriculture. Whereas, in the case of Arbëresh, none of the predictors can explain the low variation in its use.

There was an attempt to analyse through categorical regression the choice between Italian and Arbëresh in conversations about economics and politics, but since these two variables have variance equal to 0, it was not possible. This is due to the fact that all the subjects use Italian alone in conversations on such topics.

III.4.2.6. Language for non-communicative purposes

The following tables show the results of the categorical regression where the choice of Italian vs Arbëresh is the dependent variable, in cases where the language is used for non-communicative purposes:

Table 45 P. Language choice when dreaming

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.845$, R multiple=.919, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.838$, R multiple=.915, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta= -.713, $p<.0001$	Beta=.661, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.208, $p<.0001$	Beta= -.224, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	Beta=.267, $p<.0001$	Beta=.242, $p<.0001$

The combined model used as predictor to explain the variation in the language choice when dreaming is highly statistically significant ($p<.0001$), and this is true for all individual predictors except "gender".

Table 46 P. Language choice when mental counting

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.800$, R multiple=.895, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.726$, R multiple=.852, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta= -.633, $p<.0001$	Beta=.356, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.236, $p<.0001$	Beta= -.414, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	Beta=.246, $p<.0001$	Beta=.269, $p<.0001$

The model makes a significant contribution to explaining the variation in the use of both the languages when they are used for mental counting ($p<.0001$).

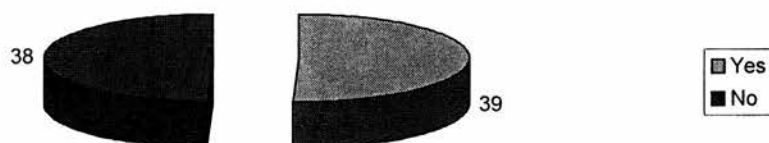
In these two cases too, the language choice is age-related: the use of Arbëresh increases with the speakers' age; but the use of Italian increases as the speakers' age decreases.

III.4.3. ARBËRESH COMMUNITY'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS ARBËRESH LANGUAGE AND STANDARD ALBANIAN

III.4.3.1. Arbëresh transmission

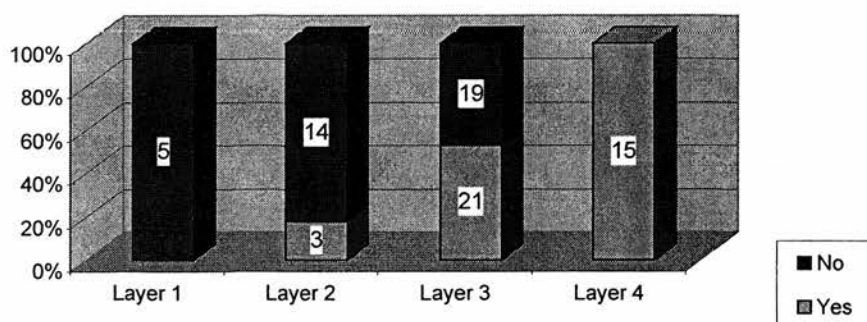
All active speakers were asked whether their aim was/will be to transmit Arbëresh to the next generation. The informants' answers are graphically represented in the figure below:

Figure 37 P. Arbëresh transmission



The situation between the positive and negative answers is balanced, but it is worth noticing the interaction between the given answers and the subjects' age:

Figure 38 P. Arbëresh transmission by "age"



The intention of transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation is strongly influenced by "age": all the subjects from layer 4 intended to transmit; it is followed by a balanced picture between positive and negative answers in layer 3; in layer 2 a small percentage of informants expressed intention of transmitting the language; finally none of the subjects from layer 1 wish to transmit Arbëresh in the future.

The data were collected from seven families of Portocannone portrayed below through family trees, where each member is labelled by the following information:

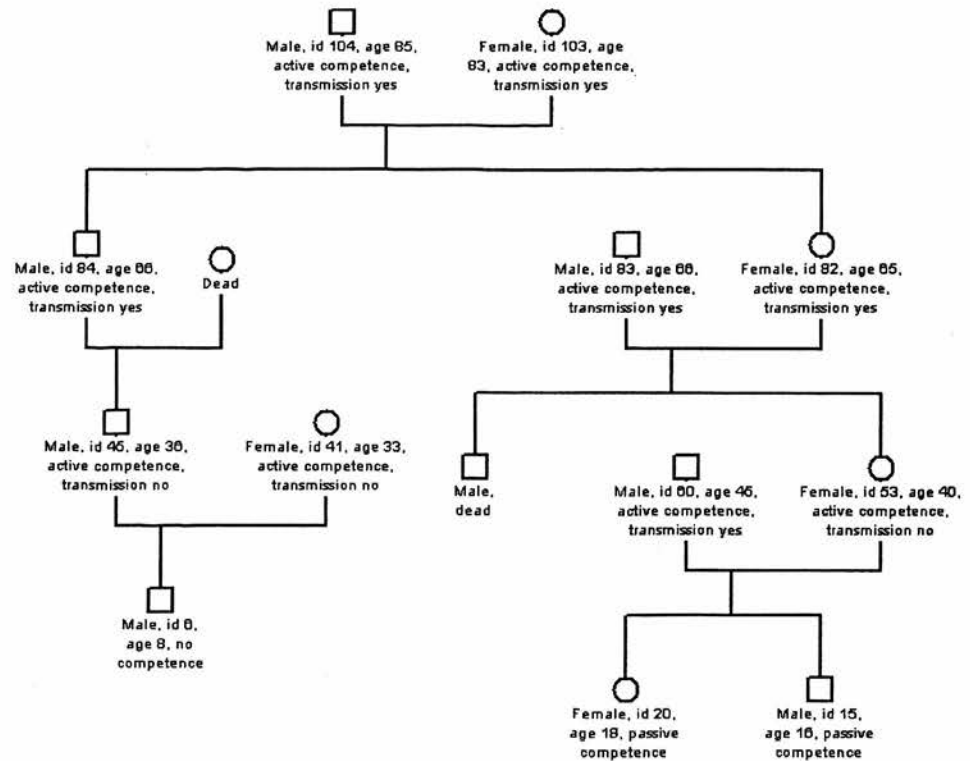
- 1) Identity number;
- 2) Gender;
- 3) Degree of competence in Arbëresh;
- 4) Intention of transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation.

[illegible]

From the family tree above, it emerges that the speakers' attitudes towards the transmission of Arbëresh are related to their age. Indeed, speakers belonging to the first two generations expressed intention of transmitting, whereas from the third generation, the attitudes have changed. Indeed, members of the third generation show ambivalent attitudes which is reflected in their children's degree of competence:

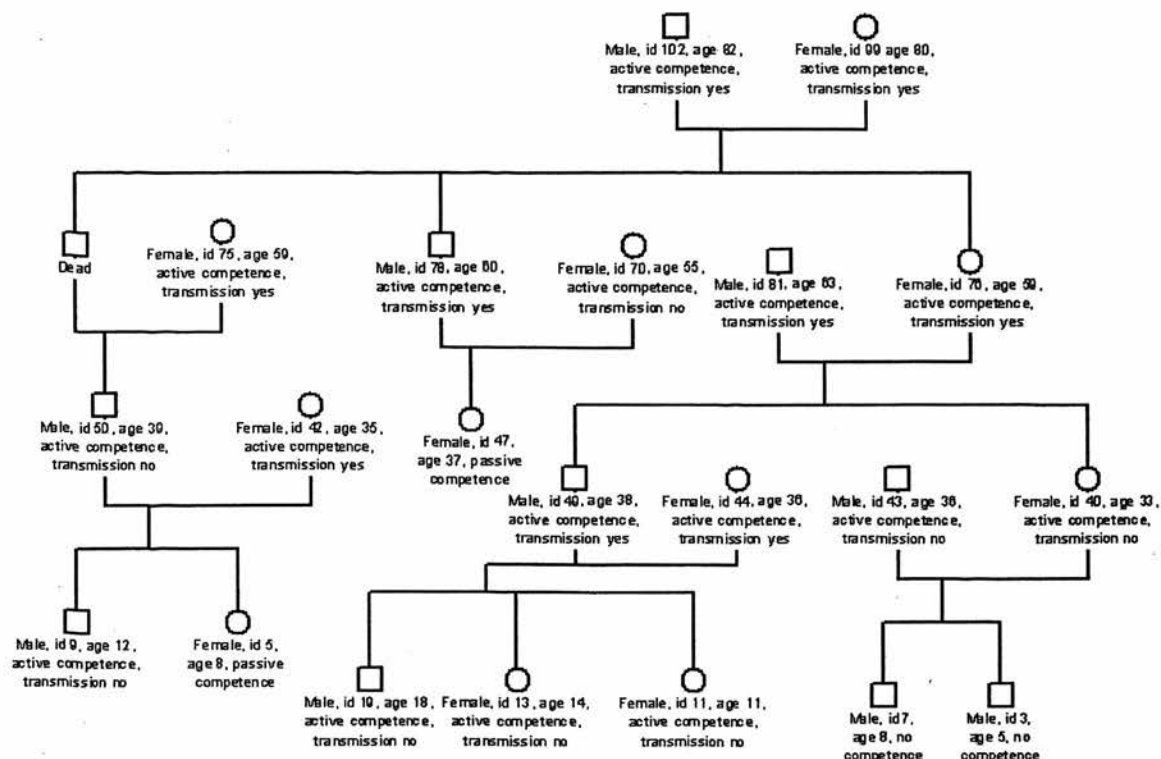
- ❑ the siblings id 21 and 17, off-spring of a couple who did not wish to transmit the language to them, do not have any competence in Arbëresh;
- ❑ siblings id 31, 33 and 14 are active speakers, whose parents expressed intention of transmitting Arbëresh to them;
- ❑ id 24, whose father intended to transmit the language to him, while his mother did not, has a passive competence in Arbëresh;
- ❑ id 16's and id 10's parents did not wish to transmit Arbëresh to them, and the former has a passive knowledge of it, whereas the latter does not have any competence in the language;
- ❑ id 26 and id 18, whose father did not intend to transmit and their mother did, respectively have active competence and passive competence;
- ❑ id 23, whose parents did not intend to transmit Arbëresh to their son, has passive knowledge of it;
- ❑ id 12 and id 8, whose parents did not have the intention of transmitting Arbëresh, have, respectively, passive knowledge and no competence.

Figure 40 P. family II



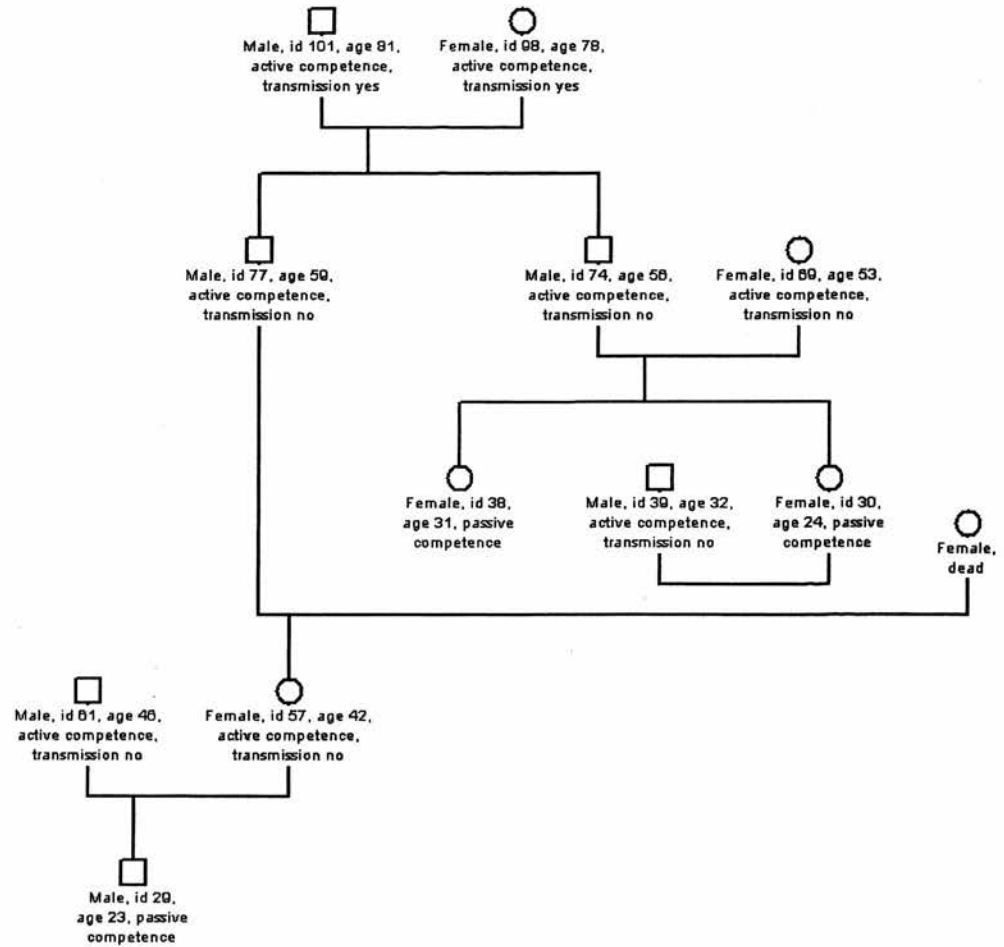
This family tree clearly depicts the influence that the parents' decision of transmitting the language to the next generation has had on their children's competence. The couple of the first generation has active competence and intended to transmit the language. Their children show the same characteristics: they have active competence and intention of transmitting. Their children are active Arbëresh speakers, but did not wish to transmit the language. On the one hand, id 45 marrying id 41, with active competence but without the intention of transmitting, has a child with no competence. On the other hand, id 53 marrying id 60, with active competence and the intention of transmitting Arbëresh, has two children with passive competence.

Figure 41 P. family III



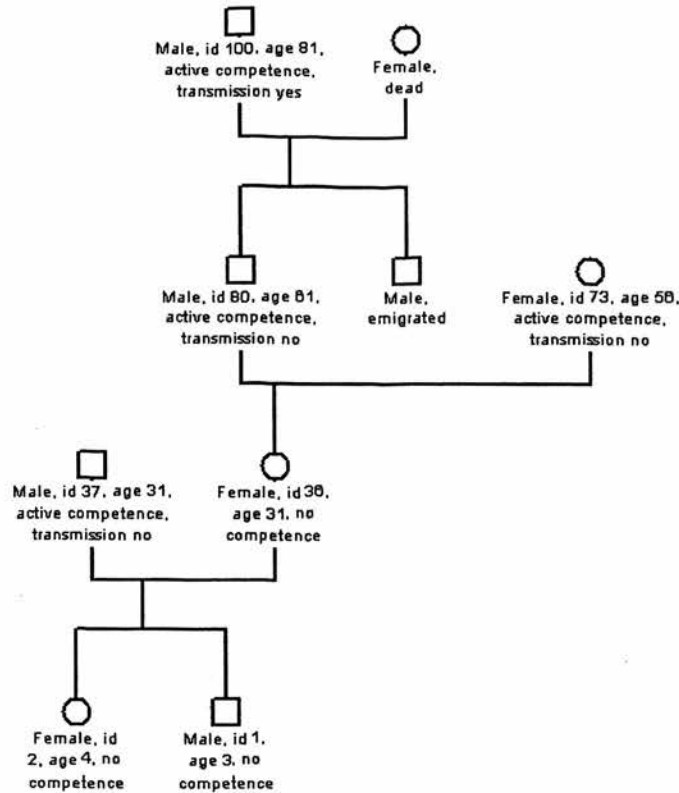
Family III shows the trend according to which the parents' willingness to transmit the language materialises itself in their children's competence. In the first generation there are active speakers with the intention of transmitting Arbëresh. Indeed, their children have active competence and intended to transmit. This is the case for their mates too, apart from id 70 who did not wish to transmit. As it turns out, their daughter is a passive Arbëresh speaker. The rest of the third generation is formed by active speakers, but show different attitudes towards the transmission of Arbëresh. Id 50 did not intend to transmit, whereas his mate did: the oldest of their children has active competence, while the youngest has passive competence. Id 49 and 44 have the same attitudes, they both wished to transmit Arbëresh to their off-spring, indeed their children have active competence, but they did not express intention of transmitting Arbëresh in the future. Id 40 and her partner id 43 did not wish to transmit: none of their children are active Arbëresh speakers.

Figure 42 P. family IV



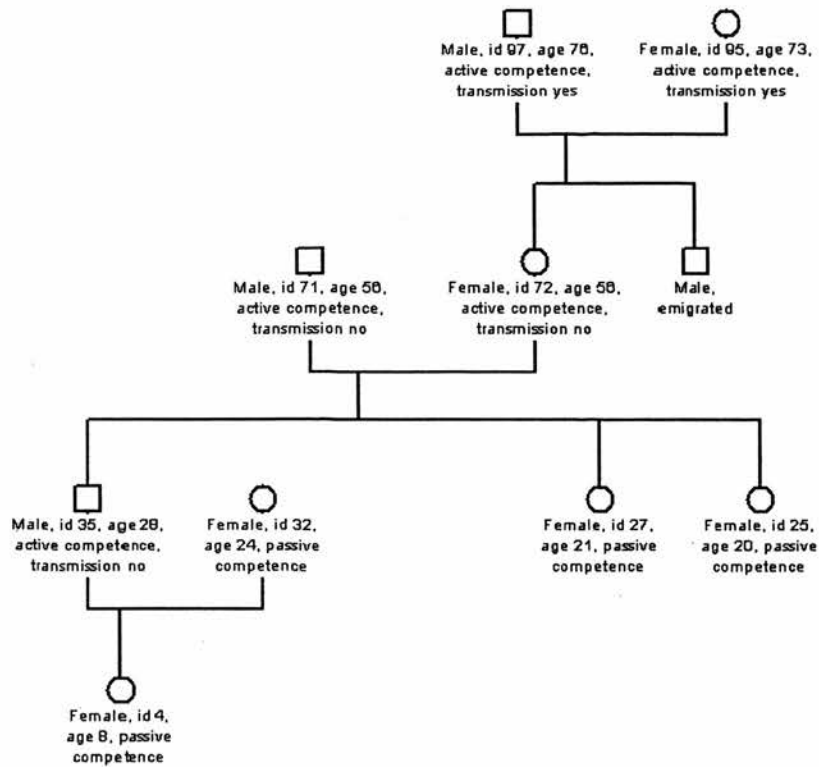
The family tree above shows the change in the attitudes towards the transmission of Arbëresh from the second generation. Indeed, even though their parents are active Arbëresh speakers and intended to transmit, the subjects with active competence in the second generation did not intend to transmit Arbëresh to their offspring. The couple formed by id 74 and 77 shows the same characteristics: active competence and no intention of transmitting the language. Indeed, both of their children have passive knowledge of Arbëresh. However, although her father did not intend to transmit, the other member of the third generation has active competence in Arbëresh, but did not wish to transmit the language. This opinion, which is shared by her husband too, did influence their son's competence degree: he has passive knowledge of Arbëresh.

Figure 43 P. Family V



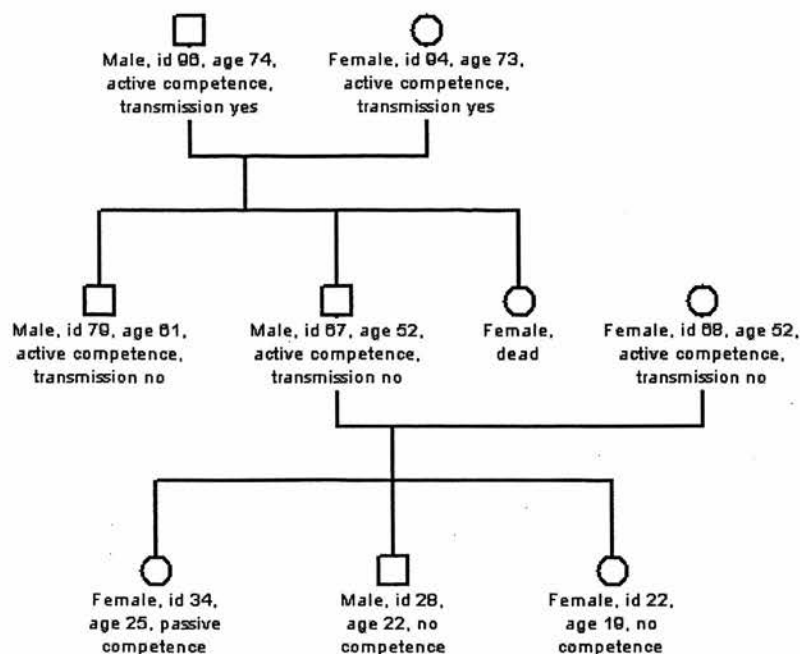
Apart from the first generation where id 100 has active competence and intention of transmitting, their son shows a change in the attitudes towards Arbëresh transmission. This opinion is shared by his wife too, even though both of them are active Arbëresh speakers. However, their son has active competence, but did not express intention of transmitting. Marrying a woman with no competence in Arbëresh, their children do not have any type of knowledge of the language.

Figure 44 P. family VI



The shift in the attitudes towards the transmission of Arbëresh can be seen following the inter-generational lines of this family too. Both the members of the first generation are active speakers with the intention of transmitting Arbëresh. However, their daughter, an active speaker, did not wish to transmit the language to her children, an opinion shared by her husband who is actively competent too. Their willingness did influence their off-spring's degree of competence: two of their children are passive speakers, whereas the oldest one, even though he has active competence, did not intend to transmit Arbëresh: his daughter does not show any degree of competence.

Figure 45 P. family VII



Members of the first generation are active speakers and intended to transmit Arbëresh to their off-spring. However, changes in the attitudes can be observed from the second generation: their son, an active speaker, has no intention of transmitting the language to the next generation. The same is for his actively competent wife too. The effects of their intention are clearly shown in the third generation, as their children have, respectively, passive competence and no competence in Arbëresh.

III.4.3.1.1. Discussion

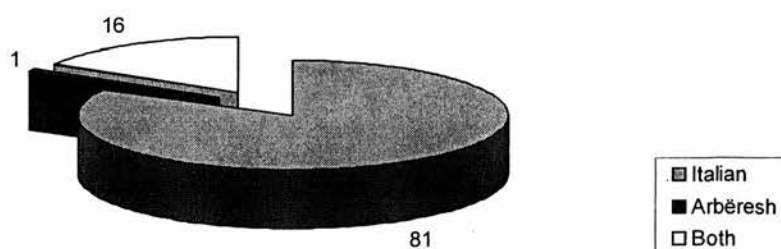
The family trees shed light both on the intergenerational shift from Arbëresh to Italian and on speakers' attitudes towards the language. It is possible to claim that the shift is occurring: from active competence to passive, which leads inevitably to lack of knowledge of Arbëresh in the following generation. As far as attitudes are concerned, they form a socio-psycholinguistic continuum which is testified to by the subjects' intention of transmitting the language to the next generation. Old speakers found it worthwhile to transmit Arbëresh to their children, and in fact they have active competence. The almost negative attitudes found in the intervening generations can be

seen particularly in their widely shared intention of not transmitting the language to their children. The parents' intention not to transmit the language has consequences for most of the children's proficiency in Arbëresh: the majority of them present a lower degree of competence than their parents' or none at all, along with deep-rooted negative attitudes towards the language. However, it should be noted that a small minority actually have a certain degree of competence in Arbëresh, even though their parents did not want to transmit. This in line with what Dorian stated about the young generations' proficiency in East Sutherland Gaelic. According to her (1981: 108), even though the parents do not want to transmit the language to children, some of them might acquire the low prestige language by means of contact with other active speakers. Finally, none of the young speakers consider the language worth transmitting in the future.

III.4.3.2. The most important language

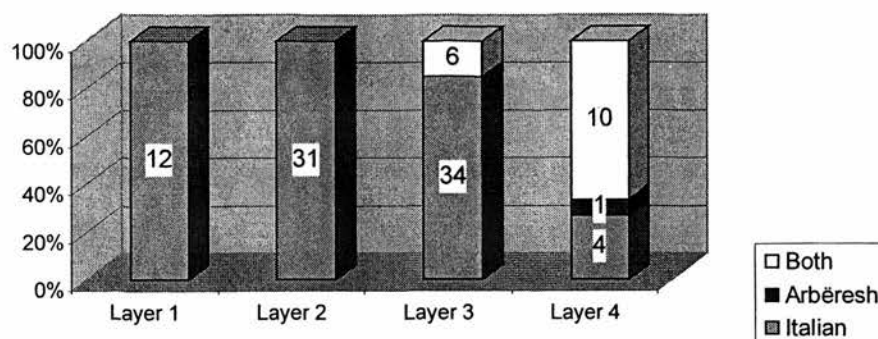
The following figure shows the opinion of the Portocannone population¹ regarding which they consider the most important language to be spoken in their community, Italian or Arbëresh or both of them:

Figure 46 P. The most important language



The great majority of the subjects consider Italian to be the most important language which should be spoken in their village. Moreover, there is a small percentage of subjects who expressed a different opinion. In order to understand these answers, it is worth noticing the bar-chart below showing the interaction between the subjects' age and their given answers.

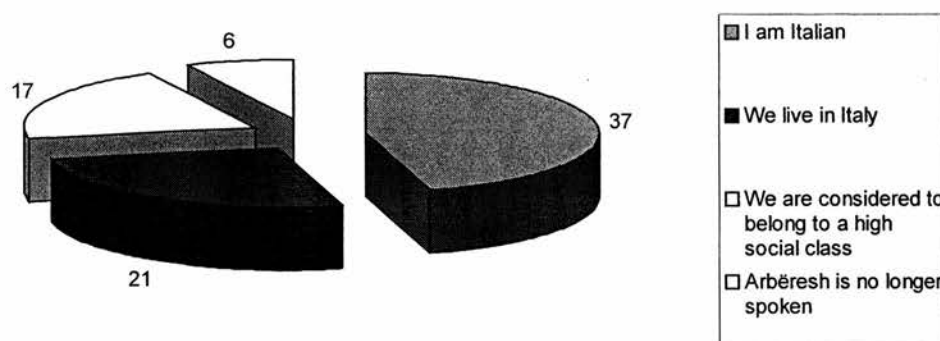
Figure 47 P. The most important language by “age”



The radical shift from the first three layers to layer 4 is the most striking fact. All the subjects from layer 1 and 2 consider Italian to be the most important language. This is the case for the subjects from layer 3 too, apart from a small percentage of subjects who consider both the languages to be important. The situation in layer 4 is completely different: the majority of the subjects believe that both the languages are important, and there is a very small percentage of subjects considering Arbëresh to be the most important language to be spoken.

The following figure presents the reasons given for considering Italian to be the most important language:

Figure 48 P. Italian the most important language



The majority of the subjects consider Italian to be the most important language, because “they are Italian and/or live in Italy”. However, what is interesting is the justification which was given by 17 subjects. Here is reported a piece conversation with a subject of layer 2, about which is the most important language in his opinion:

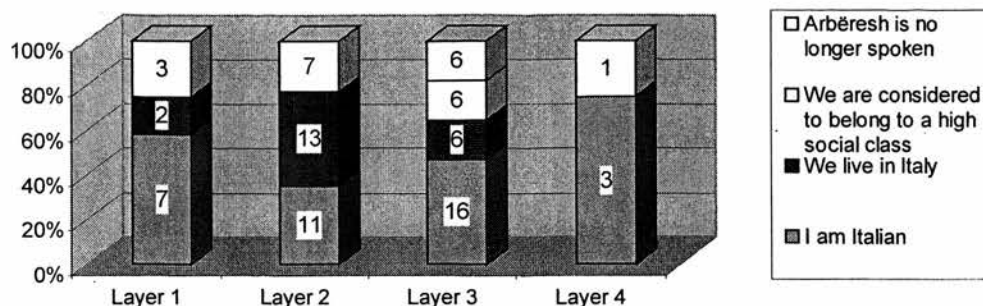
- Investigator: "*Secondo te, quale lingua è importante saper parlare qui a Portocannone?*" ("Which language do you think is important to speak here in Portocannone?")
- Subject: "*che cosa intendi?*" ("what do you mean?")
- Investigator: "*ad esempio l'italiano può essere la lingua più importante da saper parlare a Portocannone, oppure l'arbëresh e perché no, tutte e due*" ("for example Italian may be the most important language to speak in Portocannone, or else Arbëresh, or why not both of them?")
- Subject: "*ah... ok... beh, senza dubbio l'italiano*" ("ah...ok..., without doubt Italian")
- Investigator: "*l'italiano... e perché?*" ("Italian... and why?")
- Subject: "*perché? Semplice. Quando parli in italiano gli altri pensano che tu hai più soldi, ma ... sai una specie di classe un pò più alta*" ("why? Easy. When you speak Italian others believe you have more money, but...you know... kind of higher class")
- Investigator: "*ma...chi lo pensa, gli altri di Portocannone o gli altri Italiani?*" ("but... who thinks it, others in Portocannone or other Italians?")
- Subject: "*a Portocannone tutti sanno tutto di tutti, quindi sanno se sai parlare arbëresh oppure no. Ma se parli italiano innanzitutto gli altri... insomma come te, pensano che sei di buona famiglia, ma anche a Portocannone ... lo pensano ... s?*" ("in Portocannone everybody knows everything about everybody, therefore they know whether you can speak Arbëresh or not. But, if you speak Italian, above all, the others, like you for instance, think you are well-off, but even in Portocannone... they think it, yes, definitely").

Therefore, apart from reasons involving questions of identity, Italian has this connotation too: by speaking Italian, one is considered to belong to a high social class, allowing social promotion.

Finally, six subjects think Italian to be the most important language, because Arbëresh is no longer spoken. In other words, using Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1986), their cultural capital is not constituted by Arbëresh, rather by the national language.

The following chart shows the interaction between the subjects' age and the reasons given for considering Italian the most important language:

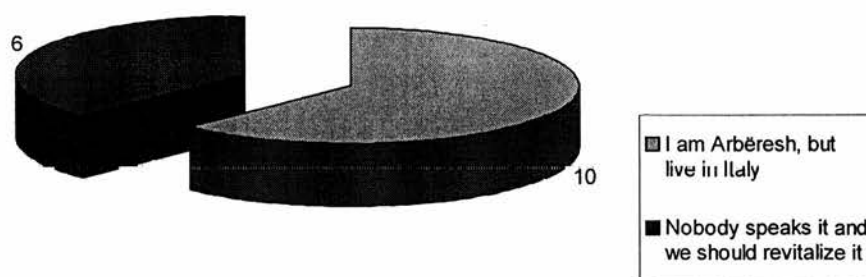
Figure 49 P. Italian the most important language by “age”



The feeling of national identity is felt by young and old speakers more or less in the same way. Moreover, the opinion according to which by speaking Italian, they are considered to belong to a high social class, is present in all layers. Finally, in layer 3 there is a small percentage of people thinking Italian to be the most important language because Arbëresh is no longer spoken.

The figure below shows the reasons the subjects gave for considering Italian and Arbëresh both important:

Figure 50 P. Both languages are important



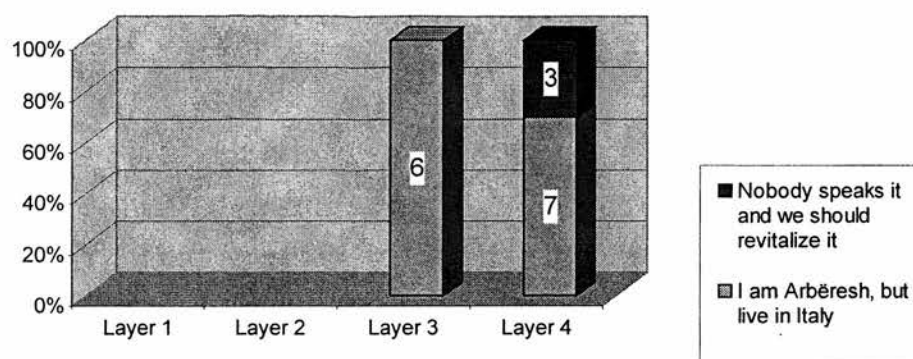
The majority of subjects consider both the languages to be important, because of their Arbëresh identity, but since they live in Italy, Italian is important too. This is a piece of conversation with a subject from layer 3:

- Investigator: “*Perché pensi che è importante saper parlare tutte e due le lingue qui a Portocannone?*” “why do you think that both the languages are important to speak here in Portocannone?”)

- Subject: *“ma, guarda... io so di essere Arbëresh, e sono orgoglioso di esserlo, ma devo riconoscere, o meglio dobbiamo riconoscere che viviamo in Italia e dobbiamo rispettare questo paese...e il minimo è parlare l’italiano insieme all’arbëresh.”* (“well, look... I know I’m Arbëresh, and I am proud of it, but I should remember, or better we should remember, that we live in Italy and we should respect this country... and the least we can do is to speak Italian along with Arbëresh”).

The interaction between the reasons and the subjects’ age is shown in the following chart:

Figure 51 P. Both languages are important by “age”

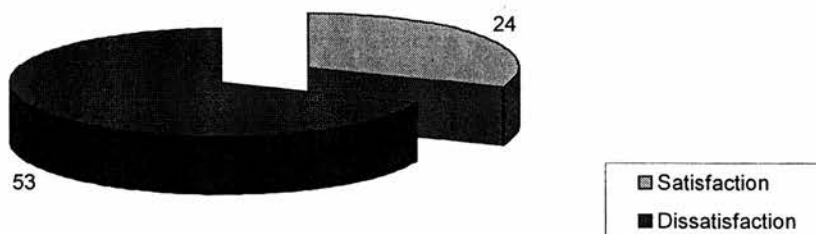


Only subjects from layers 3 and 4 find both the languages to be important to speak in their community; moreover, a small percentage of subjects from layer 4 consider the fact that nobody speaks Arbëresh to be a problem which should be solved.

III.4.3.3. Satisfaction and desire

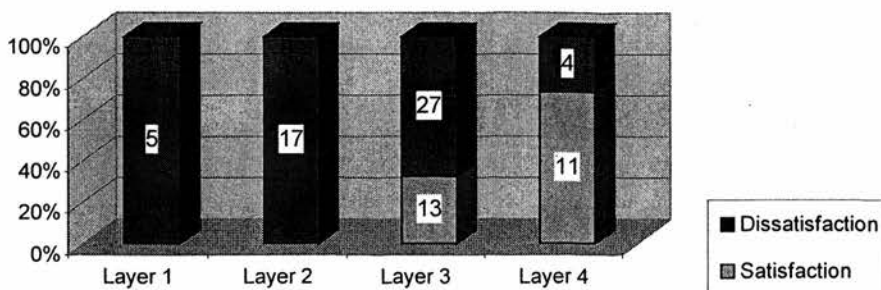
Bilinguals were asked about their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with speaking Arbëresh, that is if they are proud of speaking it. Their answers are represented in the following figure:

Figure 52 P. Bilinguals' satisfaction or dissatisfaction



Bilinguals' degree of dissatisfaction is much higher than satisfaction. The interaction between these two variables and the subjects' age is represented in the following bar-chart:

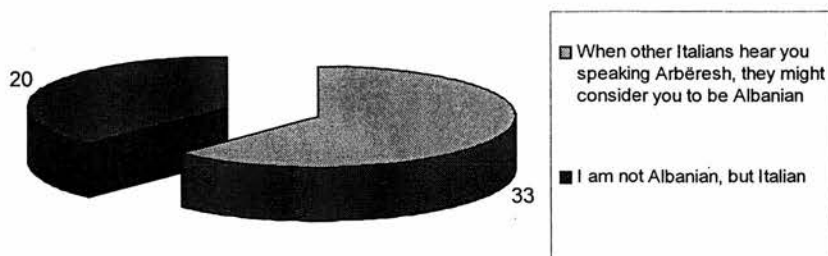
Figure 53 P. Bilinguals' satisfaction and dissatisfaction by "age"



None of the active speakers from layer 1 and 2 are satisfied with speaking Arbëresh. The degree of satisfaction increases moving up to age layer 4.

The reasons the bilinguals gave for being dissatisfied with speaking Arbëresh are shown in the following chart:

Figure 54 P. Bilinguals' dissatisfaction



The majority of the subjects seem to be worried about being "categorised" as Albanian. Indeed, they believe that when they are heard speaking Arbëresh, they might

be considered to be Albanian. This is a piece of conversation with a subject from layer 2:

- Investigator: "*mi sembra che tu sappia parlare molto bene arbëresh, ti senti soddisfatto?*" ("you can speak Arbëresh very well, are you satisfied with it?")

- Subject: "*e di cosa?*" ("with what?")

- Investigator: "*di conoscere questa lingua...*" ("with speaking this language...")

- Subject: "*soddisfatto? Ma sai cosa significa?*" ("satisfied? Do you know what this means?")

- Investigator: "*no, dimmelo tu*" ("no, you tell me")

- Subject: "*certo! Ti può capitare di parlare la nostra lingua, quando sono presenti dei forestieri. E allora sai cosa succede?*" ("sure! It may happen that one of us is speaking our language when outsiders are present. And then, do you know what happens?")

- Investigator: "*no...*" ("no...")

- Subject: "*immediatamente dicono che sei un Albanese, come se loro conoscessero l'albanese, ti rendi conto?*" ("they immediately say you are Albanian, as if they knew Albanian, can you imagine?")

- Investigator: "*non proprio, non capisco... si accorgono che sei un Arbëresh...*" (not really, I don't understand... they realise you are Arbëresh ...) [sudden interruption]

- Subject: "*un Arbëresh, perché pensi che per loro ci sia differenza, sei un Albanese e basta?*" ("an Arbëresh, why do you think there is any difference for them? You are Albanian, that's all")

- Investigator: "*sì, va bene, ma non capisco qual è il problema*" ("yes, right, but I can't see what the problem is")

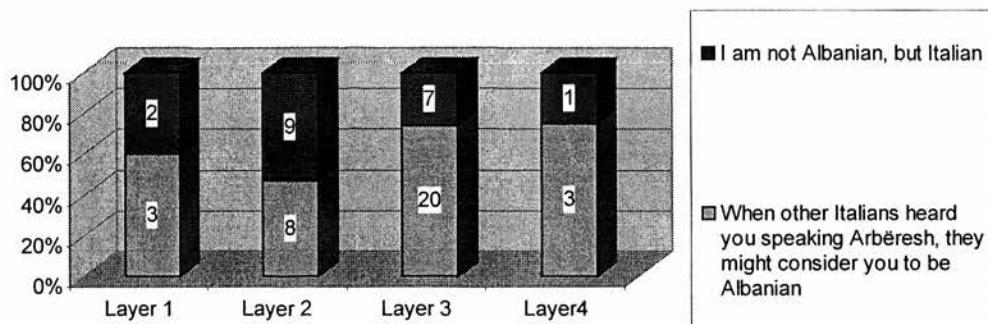
- Subject: "*ma tu, sei italiana o no?*" ("but you, you're Italian, aren't you?")

- Investigator: "*certo che lo sono!*" ("of course I am")

- Subject: "*e dove vivi? Albanese! Pericolo Albanese!! E' facile dire che gli Albanesi sono tutti criminali e che siamo tutti Albanesi!!!*" ("and where on earth do you live? Albanian! The Albanian peril!! It is easy to say that all Albanians are criminals and we are all Albanian!!!").

The interaction between these reasons and the subjects' age is represented in the following chart:

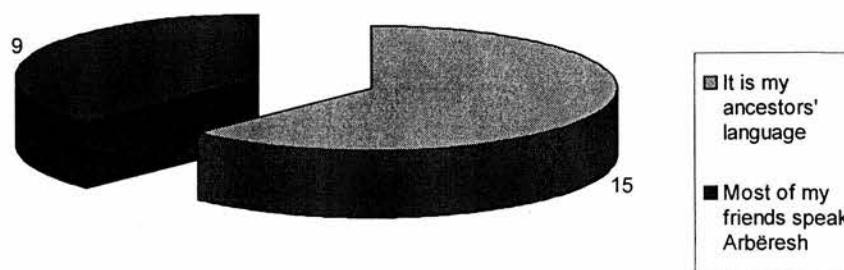
Figure 55 P. Bilinguals' dissatisfaction by "age"



The worry about being taken for Albanians, a risk perceived to be highlighted when they are heard speaking Arbëresh, is experienced by the subjects of all the layers. The other reason, given by subjects from all the age layers too, involves questions of national identity. However, it is worth noting that none of them gave linguistic reasons.

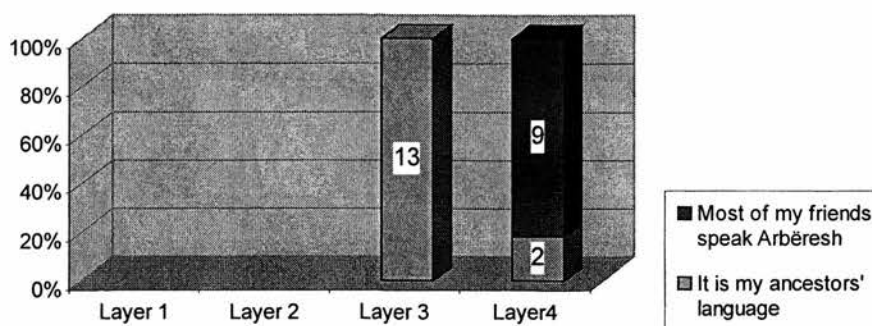
The reasons which the subjects gave for being satisfied are represented in the following figure:

Figure 56 P. Bilinguals' satisfaction



In order to understand these reasons, it is important to consider the justifications the subjects advanced with the speakers' age:

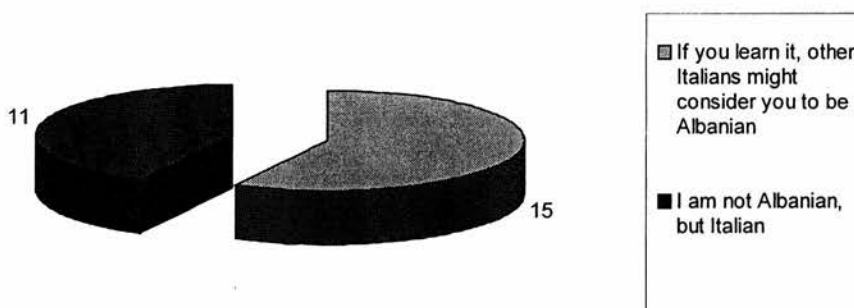
Figure 57 P. Bilinguals' satisfaction by "age"



The majority of subjects from layer 4 expressed satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh because their friends speak it, whereas in layer 3 the subjects who expressed satisfaction believe that they can feel a link with their past through their speech. The degree of satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh may be considered to be a telling measure of its vitality, since none of the subjects from layer 1 and 2 are satisfied with speaking it.

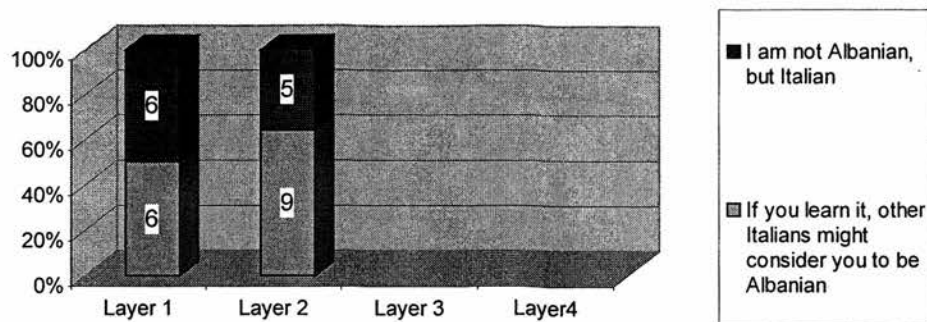
Monolinguals and passive speakers² were asked about their hypothetical desire of learning Arbëresh, but none of the monolinguals and passive speakers would like to learn it. The reasons the subjects gave are shown in the figure below:

Figure 58 P. Lack of desire



The reasons given by them overlap with those bilinguals gave for being dissatisfied with speaking Arbëresh. The reasons regarding identity matters are quite balanced with the fear of being taken for Albanians, when they are heard speaking Arbëresh. The following figure shows the reasons monolinguals and passive speakers gave according to their age:

Figure 59 P. Lack of desire by “age”



The majority of subjects from layer 2 are worried about being considered Albanian. They felt that if they spoke Arbëresh most people might think they are Albanian. This is a piece of conversation with a subject from layer 2 with passive competence in Arbëresh:

- Investigator: “*Riesci a capire l’arbëresh, vero?*” (“you can understand Arbëresh, can’t you?”)

- Subject: “*sì, come sai i miei genitori sanno parlare arbëresh, anche i miei nonni*” “Yes, as you know my parents can speak Arbëresh, also my grandparents”)

- Investigator: “*e a te non piacerebbe saperlo parlare?*” (“and you, wouldn’t you like to learn it?”)

- Subject: “*assolutamente no!*” (“Absolutely not!”)

- Investigator: “*e perché? Potresti parlare arbëresh con i tuoi, con la tua famiglia...*” (“why? You could speak Arbëresh with your parents, with your family...”)

- Subject: “*Guarda, se devo essere sincero, a me dispiace che i miei genitori sappiano parlare ... cioè non voglio che lo facciano in pubblico. Hai visto prima?*” (“look, to be honest, I’m sorry that my parents can speak it... I mean I don’t want them to do in public. Did you see what happened before?”)

- Investigator: “*quando?*” (“when?”)

- Subject: “*stavano aspettando te e parlavano in dialetto, come se tu non riuscissi a capirli...*” (“they were waiting for you, and were speaking their dialect, as if you couldn’t understand them...”)

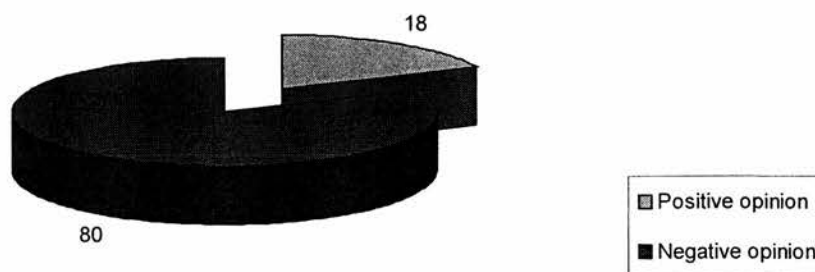
- Investigator: *“e allora, non mi sembra stessero dicendo cose private...”* (“what’s the problem? I don’t think they were talking about private matters”)
- Subject: *“tutti possono scambiarsi per Albanesi!!* (“anybody might mistake them for Albanians!!”)
- Investigator: *“Certo sono albanesi”* (“sure, they are Albanian”)
- Subject: *“cosa?”* (“what?”)
- Investigator: *“diciamo quelli storici”* (“let’s say, the historic Albanians”)
- Subject: *“ma no... li prendono per gli Albanesi di ora, dai... quelli che sono venuti da poco...”* (“but no... they take them for today’s Albanians, you know... those who have just came here...”)
- Investigator: *“e tu non vuoi che succeda questo?”* (“and you, don’t want this to happen?”)
- Subject: *“no, proprio no! Ti immagini se parlassi anch’io? No, no... proprio no!”* (“no, no way! Can you imagine if I spoke [Arbëresh] too? No, no... no way!”)

III.4.3.4. Standard Albanian in schools

The subjects³ were asked about the introduction of standard Albanian in schools either as a school subject or as an educational medium.

The Arbëresh community’s opinion on the introduction of standard Albanian as a school subject is represented in the following figure:

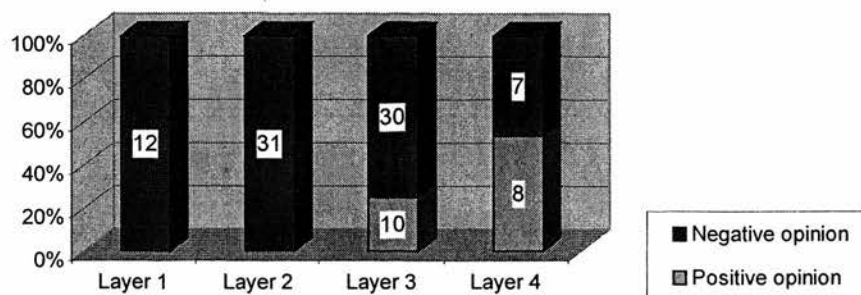
Figure 60 P. Albanian as a school subject



A very small percentage of subjects agrees with the possibility of having standard Albanian as a school subject.

The interaction with age is shown in the following chart:

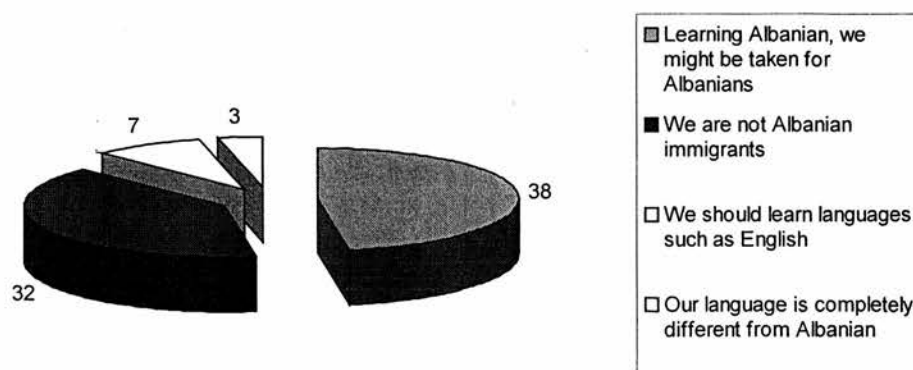
Figure 61 P. Albanian as a school subject by “age”



None of the subjects from the first two layers would like to have Albanian as a school subject. A very low percentage of speakers from layer 3 disagrees with this, and this percentage increases in layer 4.

The reasons the subjects gave for not wanting Albanian as a school subject can be seen in the following picture:

Figure 62 P. Albanian as a school subject: negative opinion

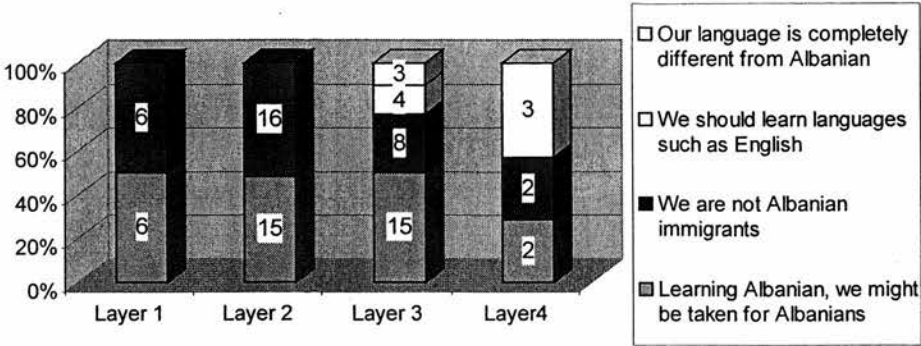


The most common reason the subjects gave was that, learning Albanian in schools they might be considered to be Albanian immigrants. The second reason is almost identical to the previous one - they are not Albanian immigrants. Only a small percentage of subjects objects for different reasons, because they believe they should learn languages which are important in the modern world, such as English. Fewer still

point to the structural distance between standard Albanian and Arbëresh, finding the latter completely different from the former.

The following figure shows the reasons given according to the subjects' age:

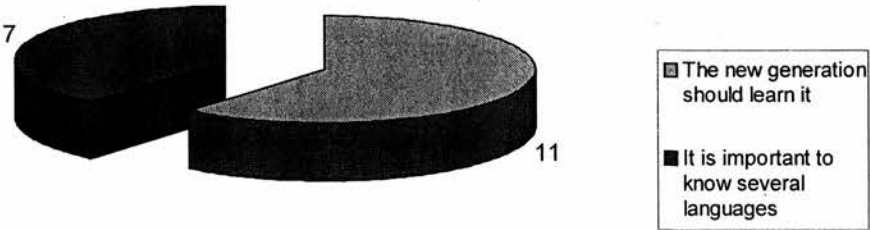
Figure 63 P. Albanian as a school subject: negative opinion by “age”



In all the layers there are subjects who do not want Albanian as a school subject, either because they are not “Albanian immigrants”, or because they might be considered Albanian. This fear is predominant in layers 1 and 2. The subjects stressing the importance of learning languages such as English are present in layer 3 and 4.

The reasons the subjects gave for a positive opinion are represented in the following pie-chart:

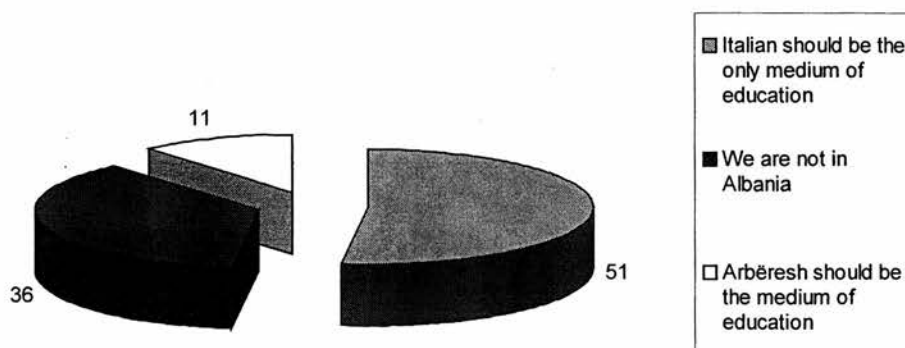
Figure 64 P. Albanian as a school subject: positive opinion



These reasons were given by subjects from layers 3 and 4. Most of them thought that the new generations should learn Arbëresh, because it is their ancestors' language. The rest of these subjects consider Arbëresh to be a language worth learning because nowadays it is important to know several languages.

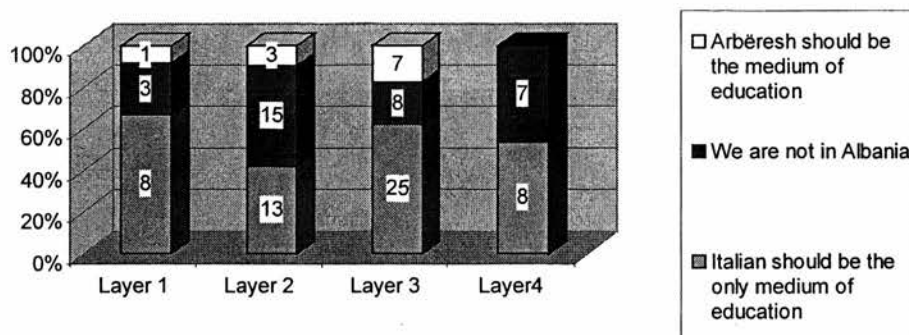
Subjects were asked to give their opinion on standard Albanian being a medium of education. None of the subjects want to have Albanian as an educational medium. The reasons they gave are summarised in the following pie-chart:

Figure 65 P. Albanian as a medium of education: negative opinion



The majority of subjects underlined their national identity. A very low percentage of subjects expressed a desire to have Arbëresh, and not Albanian, as a medium of education.

Figure 66 P. Albanian as a medium of education: negative opinion by “age”



The small percentage of subjects who wish to have Arbëresh, and not standard Albanian, as an educational medium is present in the first three layers, but surprisingly not in the most conservative one, that is layer 4.

III.4.3.5. Language spoken in the community

Subjects⁴ were asked to label the language spoken in their community, i.e. Arbëresh, Albanian, or both of them.

The results show that all the subjects think that the language spoken in their community is Arbëresh and not Albanian or both of them. It is worth mentioning that the majority of old speakers answered “Albanian”, but underlying that they speak the “real” Albanian, in contrast with the language spoken by the immigrants. For this reason I interpreted their answer as “Arbëresh”. The fact that they relabelled their language is an important signal of a renegotiated identity. This is clear from the reported conversation with an active speaker from layer 4:

- Investigator: “*Secondo te, quale lingua parli, parlano i tuoi amici, tutti gli altri nel paese?*” (“which language do you think that you, your friends and others speak in your village?”)

- Subject: “*io con i miei amici parlo albanese*” (“I speak Albanian with my friends”)

- Investigator: “*Albanese, ah... come gli immigrati albanesi che stanno qui a Portocannone...*” (“Albanian, ah... like the Albanian immigrants who are here in Portocannone...”)

- Subject: “*nooo... il nostro è l'albanese vero!*” (“nooo... ours is the real Albanian!”)

- Investigator: “*perché loro non parlano un vero albanese?*” (“why don’t they speak a real Albanian?”)

- Subject: “*no, noi parliamo l'albanese che si parlava tanti, tanti anni fa, quello che parlavano quando sono venuti qui gli Albanesi. Ecco noi parliamo quella lingua!*” (“no, we speak the Albanian that was spoken many, many years ago, the one spoken by the Albanians who came here. Here it is, we speak that language!”)

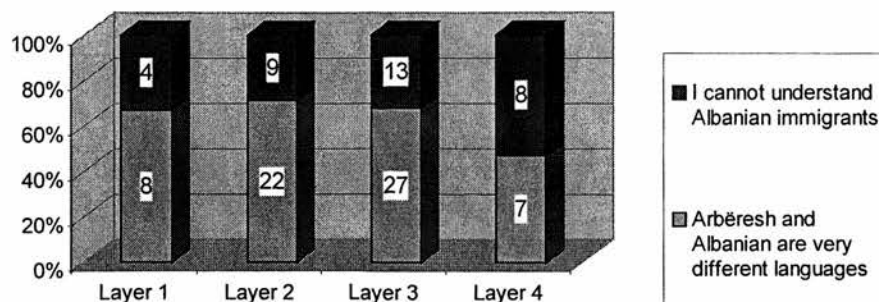
- Investigator: “*e che differenza c'è con il nuovo albanese?*” (and what difference is there with the new Albanian?”)

- Subject: “*quello nostro è vero, quello loro è ... diverso*” (“ours is the real one, theirs is ... different”).

Moreover, the kind of answer the subjects gave is a telling measure of Arbëresh vitality. In Campomarino all the subjects think the community language is neither Arbëresh or Albanian, since they are Italians and, therefore, Italian is the only language spoken in their community. Whereas, in Potocannone all the subjects recognise the role the minority language has in their community.

The reasons the informants gave are divided by age in the following chart:

Figure 67 P. Arbëresh: the language of the community



At first sight, the reasons the subjects gave seem to have a linguistic character. However, they hide something different, as can be deduced by this piece of conversation with an active speaker of layer 2:

- Investigator: *“Secondo te, quale lingua viene parlata nel vostro paese, ovviamente a parte l’Italiano?”* (“which language do you think is spoken in your village, apart from Italian, obviously?”)

- Subject: *“il nostro particolare dialetto”* (“our particular dialect”)

- Investigator: *“e come si chiama?”* (and, how is it named?)

- Subject: *“arbëresh”* (“Arbëresh”)

- Investigator: *“arbëresh ossia albanese?”* (“Arbëresh, that is Albanian?”)

- Subject: *“no! Sono cose completamente diverse!”* (“no! they are completely different things”)

- Investigator: *“cioè due lingue diverse?”* (“that is, two different languages?”)

- Subject: *“sì, sono due lingue diverse, loro parlano una lingua diversa...”* (“yes, they are two different languages, they speak a different language”)

- Investigator: *“chi ‘loro’?”* (“who are ‘they’?”)

- Subject: *“gli immigrati, quelli Albanesi”* (“the immigrants, those Albanians”)

- Investigator: *“quindi, non li capisci?”* (“so, can’t you understand them?”)

- Subject: "*no, non li capisco... no... comunque è meglio non capirli...*" ("no, I can't understand them... no... however, it's better not to understand them...")
- Investigator: "*perché?*" ("why?")
- Subject: "*non sono brava gente*" ("they are not good people").

III.4.4. SUMMARY

From the results it emerges that the percentage of active speakers in Arbëresh is much higher in Portocannone - 73% - than in Campomarino - 9%. Nevertheless, a gradual decline of the language can be observed. This is testified to by a proficiency continuum, where the relation between the speakers and their Arbëresh competence and use are determined by their age. Moreover, the degree of competence in Arbëresh and its use are related to other two subject background variables: "level of education" and "occupation". However, as discussed above, both these variables are associated with "age". Confirming the original hypothesis, the general pattern is that Arbëresh competence and use increase with the speakers' age.

The whole set of speakers' attitudes towards Arbëresh in Portocannone can be defined as a socio-psycholinguistic continuum: from the old speakers' ambivalent attitudes - showing a contrast between the binding or solidarity function which Arbëresh performs among the subjects of their own generation, and the idea that children should not be taught Arbëresh - to almost negative ones among the intervening generations, to completely negative attitudes among the young speakers. This socio-psycholinguistic continuum in the attitudes is testified to by the subjects' intention of transmitting the language to the next generation. Old speakers expressed the intent to transmit Arbëresh to their off-spring (as shown in the family trees) and the parents' willingness did influence their children's degree of competence. The almost negative attitudes found in the intervening generations can be seen particularly in their widely shared intention of not transmitting the language to their children, a decision which did influence their children's proficiency in Arbëresh, as is clear from the family trees. Finally, none of the young speakers will transmit the language in the future.

Subjects' attitudes towards Arbëresh overlap with their attitudes towards Albanians and Albanian. The majority of subjects from all the layers are not satisfied

with speaking Arbëresh, because when they are heard speaking Arbëresh, other Italians might consider them to be Albanians. The same reason is advanced by monolinguals of Italian, for justifying why they do not wish to learn Arbëresh. Subjects do not want to risk having the stigma of criminals attached to them. Therefore, there are common general negative attitudes towards the hypothetical introduction of standard Albanian, particularly in schools.

Chapter III.5. Ururi results

In Ururi the data were collected from a sample of 90 subjects. The following table represents the distribution of the informants according to their “age”, “gender”, “level of education” and “occupation”:

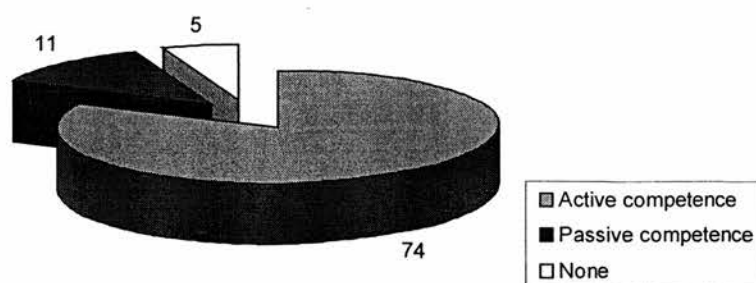
Table 47 U. Distribution of the subjects

Age	Gender	Level of education	Occupation
Layer 1 (3-18) = 14%	Female = 50%	None = 18%	Sector I = 13%
Layer 2 (19-39) = 29%	Male = 50%	Primary = 28%	Sector II = 9%
Layer 3 (40-69) = 38%		Secondary = 26%	Sector III = 38%
Layer 4 (70 or over) = 19%		High = 22%	Unemployed = 3%
		Higher = 6%	Housewife = 22%
			Student = 15%

III.5.1. COMPETENCE IN ARBËRESH

The subjects’ degree of competence in Arbëresh is graphically represented in the pie-chart¹ below:

Figure 68 U. Degree of competence



There is a clear hierarchy of the degree of competence: the active competence frequency is much higher than the passive competence, and there is a low percentage of subjects who are monolingual in Italian.

Comparing the results obtained in Ururi with those of Campomarino and Portocannone, the percentage of active speakers here is higher - 82% than in Portocannone (73%) and Campomarino (9%). Reflecting their geographical position, and confirming the pilot study findings, the three villages form an Arbëresh proficiency continuum, moving from the outmost part of the region to an inland location to one further inland, that is from Campomarino, to Portocannone and finally Ururi.

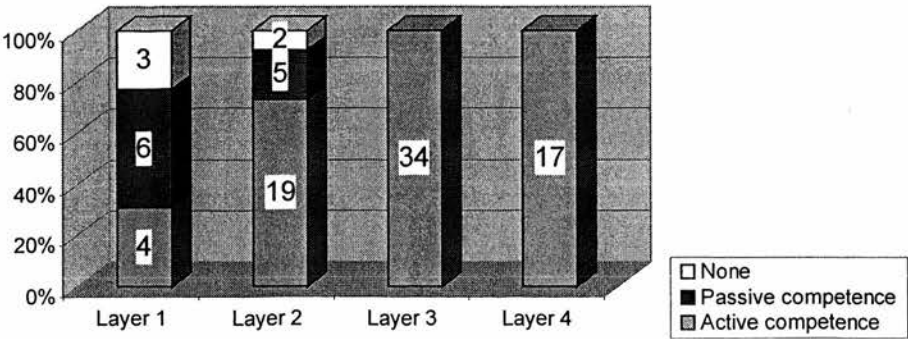
The informants' degree of competence was used as the dependent variable in a categorical regression analysis, where the subjects' background variables are used as the predictors, in order to see how much of the variation in the dependent variable can be predicted by the independent variables:

Table 48 U. “Competence” and subjects’ background variables

Predictors	
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2=.651$, $R \text{ multiple}=.807$; $p<.0001$
“Age”	$\text{Beta}=-.249$, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	$p>.05$
“Level of education”	$\text{Beta}=-.168$, $p<.05$
“Occupation”	$\text{Beta}=.616$, $p<.0001$

The model used as predictor is highly significant ($p<.0001$) and the variation can be explained by the predictors “age”, “level of education” and “occupation”. The following figure shows the interaction between the dependent variable and “age”:

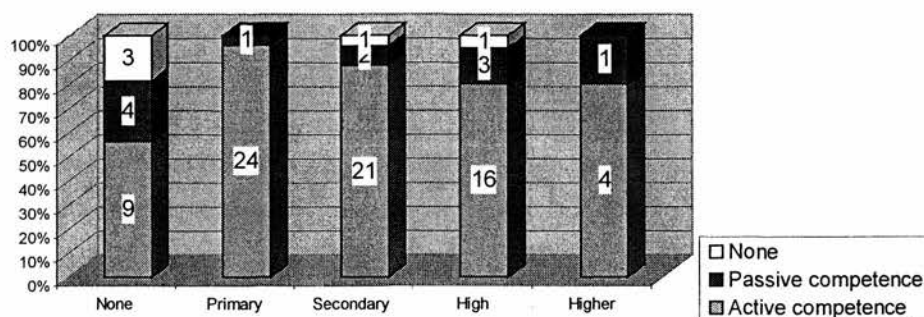
Figure 69 U. “Competence” by “age”



The trend according to which the degree of competence increases moving up the age layers is confirmed in this case too: this is entirely as was expected.

The interaction between the subjects' degree of competence and their "level of education" is represented in the figure below:

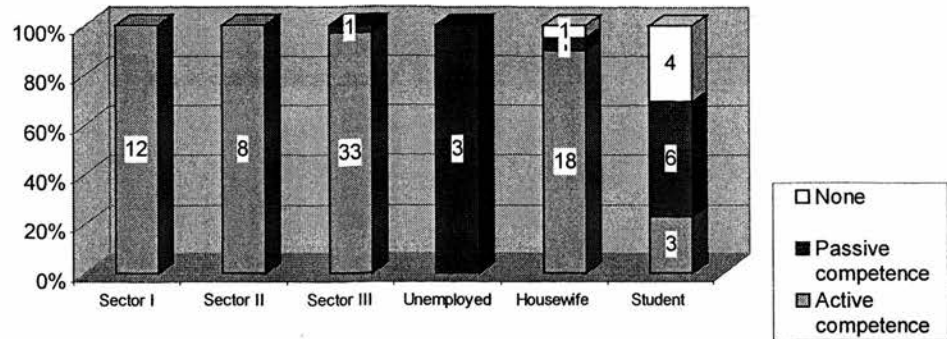
Figure 70 U. "Competence" by "level of education"



The chart shows a clear hierarchy of active competence moving from subjects with higher level of education to those with a primary level: the frequency of active Arbëresh speakers increases as "level of education" decreases. The opposite hierarchy can be seen in the case of passive competence: its frequency increases moving from subjects with a primary level of education to those with a higher level of education. In the class of speakers without any schooling, a high variation in the degree of Arbëresh competence can be observed. This can be explained by the fact that in this class the subjects span different age groups: they can belong either to age layer 1 or to age layer 4. While the subjects from the latter age group are active speakers, not all the subjects from 3 to 18 years old are.

The following figure shows the interaction between "competence" and "occupation":

Figure 71 U. “Competence” by “occupation”



At first, it may seem striking that all the unemployed subjects are passive Arbëresh speakers. The unemployed informants represent only 3% of the sample, that is 3 subjects. Therefore, as in the case of Portocannone it seems that this result could be explained by the fact that there is a low degree of variation in this class, because of the tiny number of subjects. However, the main interesting result is the high variation in the degree of Arbëresh competence within the class of students. As in Portocannone, this result can be explained by referring to the subjects' age. Within the class of students, there are informants from 3 to 24 years old, the age group which shows the highest degree of variation in Arbëresh competence.

The results of categorical regression, using the parents' background variables as predictors and the subjects' competence as the dependent variable, are shown in the following table:

Table 49 U. “Competence” and parents' background variables

Predictors	
"Father's level of education + occupation + competence" + "Mother's level of education+occupation+competence"	$R^2=.663$, $R \text{ multiple}=.814$; $p<.0001$
"Father's level of education"	$\text{Beta}=.447$, $p<.001$
"Father's occupation"	$p>.05$
"Father's competence"	$p>.05$
"Mother's level of education"	$\text{Beta}=.338$, $p<.0001$
"Mother's occupation"	$p>.05$
"Mother's competence"	$p>.05$

The combined model introduced is statistically significant ($p<.0001$). It is worth noting that, since all the subjects' parents are active Arbëresh speakers, the variables "father's competence" and "mother's competence" do not make any significant

contribution to predicting the variation in the subjects' competence. The statistically significant predictors are the father's and the mother's level of education ($p < .0001$).

The results of categorical regression, using the grandparents' background variables as predictors and the degree of competence as the dependent variable, are shown in the following table:

Table 50 U. "Competence" and grandparents' competences

Predictors	
"Paternal grandfather's and grandmother's competence" + "Maternal grandfather's and grandmother's competence"	$R^2 = .015$, R multiple = .124; $p > .05$

The model introduced is not significant. This is because, since the majority of the subjects' grandparents are active Arbëresh speakers, these independent variables cannot predict the variation in the subjects' degree of competence.

III.5.2. LANGUAGE CHOICE: ITALIAN VS ARBËRESH

This section deals with active Arbëresh speakers: firstly, their proficiency degree in the four basic skills will be analysed, and secondly, their choice between the use of Italian and Arbëresh will be investigated.

III.5.2.1. The four skills

From the data collected, it resulted that none of the subjects are at all proficient either in writing or in reading, whatever their age is: this is entirely as expected, given the absence of a codified Arbëresh.

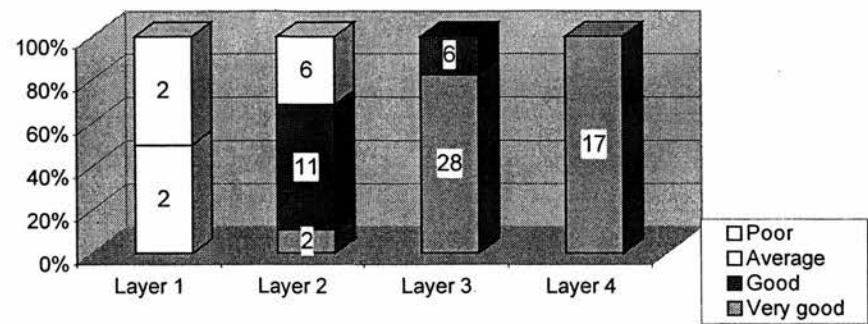
The following table shows a categorical regression analysis, where the "self-assessed speaking ability" is used as the dependent variable, and the subjects' background variables as predictors. This procedure is followed to see how much of the variation in proficiency is due to the independent variables.

Table 51 U. "Speaking" and subjects' background variables

Predictors	
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2 = .806$, R multiple = .898; $p < .0001$
"Age"	Beta = -.514, $p < .0001$
"Gender"	Beta = .193, $p = .001$
"Level of education"	Beta = .186, $p < .0001$
"Occupation"	Beta = .419, $p < .0001$

All the predictors are able to explain the variation in proficiency, and their interactions with the dependent variable “self-assessed speaking ability” can be seen in the following figures:

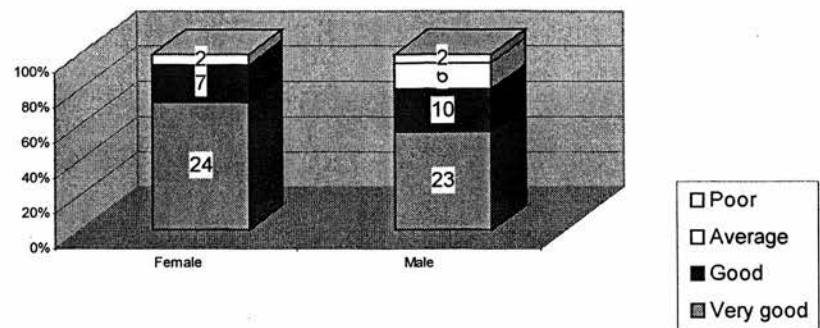
Figure 72 U. “Speaking” by “age”



From the bar-chart above, showing the interaction between the “self-assessed reading ability” and “age”, a hierarchy in the spoken proficiency can be observed: the proficiency improves moving up the age layers. This is entirely as expected.

The following chart represents the interaction between “self-assessed speaking ability” and “gender”:

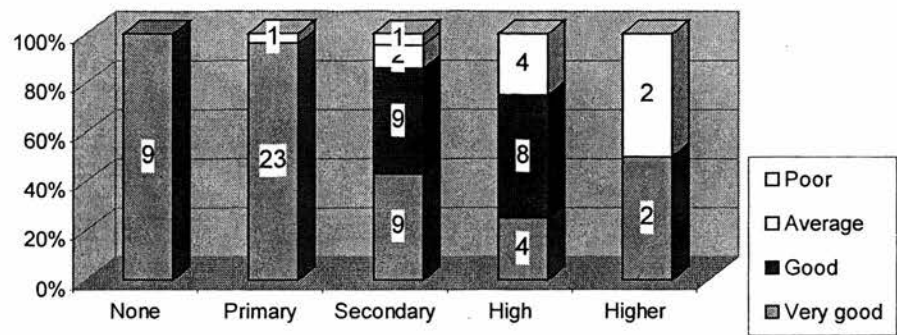
Figure 73 U. “Speaking” by “gender”



From the figure, it emerges that females show a higher degree of proficiency in speaking than males. From the figure it emerges that females show a higher degree of proficiency in speaking than males. This contrasts with the Portocannone results. It should be remembered firstly that the speaking ability is self-reported and in both the samples there is a higher concentration of men than women: in Portocannone there are 35 females vs 42 males, in Ururi there are 33 females vs 41 males.

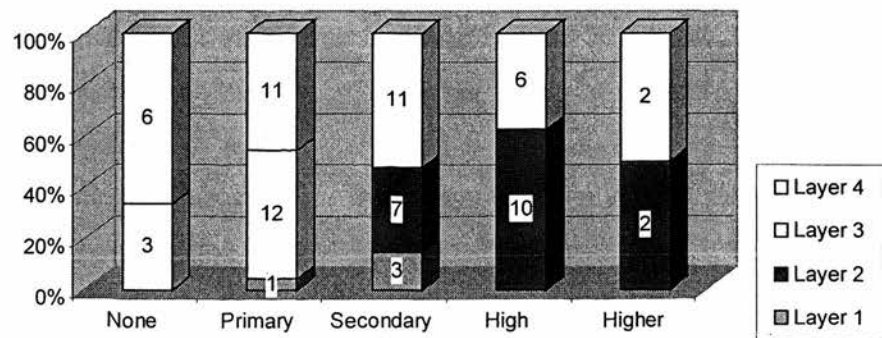
The interaction between “self assessed speaking ability” and “level of education” is shown in the following figure:

Figure 74 U. “Speaking” by “level of education”



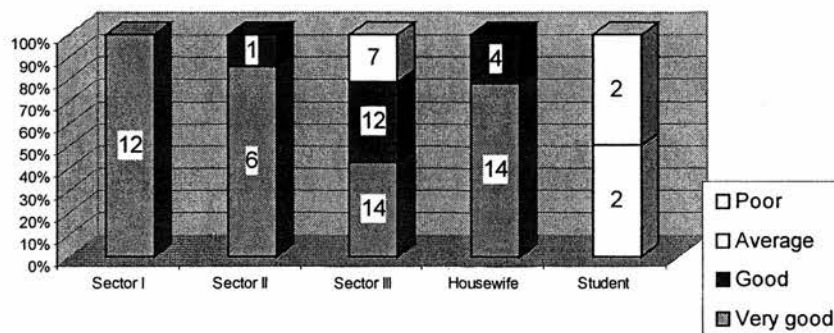
The highest degree of proficiency seems to be related to the level of education: its percentage gets higher moving from subjects with a high level of education to those without any type of education. Between subjects with high and higher level of education, there is an opposite trend: the latter show a higher degree of proficiency than the former. This anomaly could be explained by the number of informants belonging to the class of subjects having higher education - 4, a number which is much lower than the other class - 16. In this case a general conclusion on this trend cannot be drawn. In the case of subjects without any schooling, they all self-judged their speaking ability in Arbëresh as “very good”, since all of them belong to the highest age layer. On the other hand, in the classes of subjects with primary and secondary level of education, the presence of a low percentage of speakers who judged their speaking ability as “poor” is due to their belonging to the low age layers. This is shown in the figure below:

Figure 75 U. “Level of education” by “age”



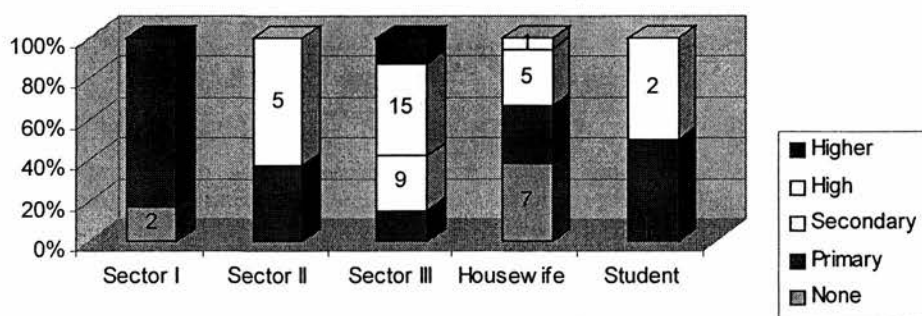
It is noteworthy that the old speakers are associated with low levels of education, therefore in this case too, the degree of competence is strictly associated with the speakers' age.

Figure 76 U. "Speaking" by "occupation"



The bar-chart above shows the interaction between the active speakers' type of occupation and their "self-assessed speaking ability". A clear hierarchy in the proficiency, on the basis of occupations in sector I, II, and III, can be observed. Indeed, the proficiency increases moving from subjects employed in sector III to subjects employed in sector I. Moreover, the variable "occupation" is associated with "level of education": the lower the sector the lower the level of education, as can be seen in the following chart:

Figure 77 U. "Occupation" by "level of education"



In the class of housewives, various levels of education can be seen. This depends on the fact that in this class, the subjects span various age groups, with different levels of education. Finally, in the class of students, associated with low age layers, low degrees of spoken proficiency are noticeable.

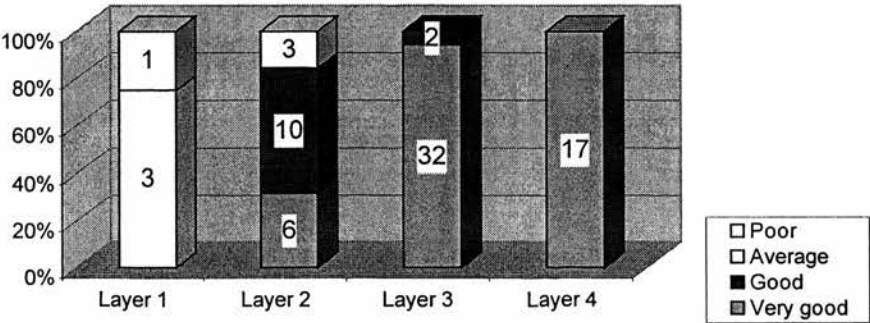
The categorical regression, the results of which are shown in the following table, was run in order to try to explain the variation in the “self-assessed listening ability” through the subjects’ background variable:

Table 52 “Listening” and subjects’ background variables

Predictors	
"Age" +"Gender"+"Level of education"+"occupation"	R ² =.724, R multiple=.851; p<.0001
"Age"	Beta= -.715, p<.0001
"Gender"	p>.05
"Level of education"	Beta= -.154, p<.05
"Occupation"	Beta=.243, p<.0001

The model formed by the subjects’ background variables is significant (p<.0001), and all the predictors, apart from “gender”, make a significant contribution to the variation in the listening proficiency. The following figures show the interaction between the dependent variable and the statistically significant predictors:

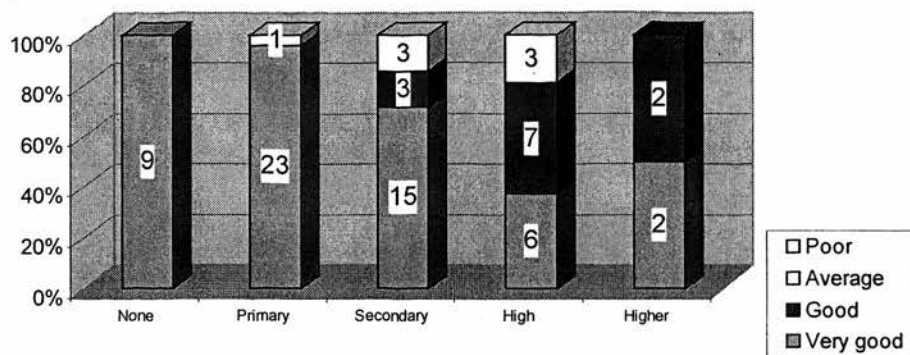
Figure 78 U. “Listening” by “age”



The chart above shows the interaction between the “self assessed listening ability” and “age”. As in the case of “speaking”, and confirming the original prediction, the degree of proficiency is strictly related to the speakers’ age: the proficiency gets higher moving up the age layers.

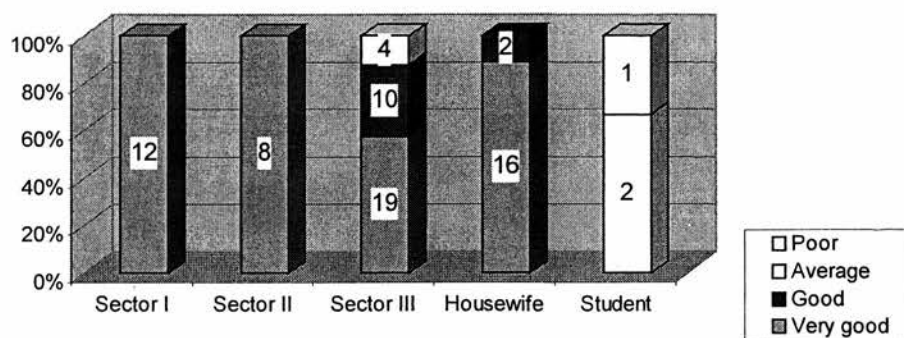
The following figure shows the interaction between the “self-assessed listening ability” and “level of education”:

Figure 79 U. “Listening” by “level of education”



The situation given by this chart is similar to that regarding the interaction between “speaking” and “level of education”. The degree of proficiency gets higher moving from subjects with high level of education to those without any type of education. As in the case of the speaking skill, the opposite trend between subjects with high and those with higher education could be observed, and the explanation was discussed above. Therefore, given that the low levels of education are associated with speakers belonging to the high age layers, it is possible to state that the degree of proficiency increases with the speakers’ age.

Figure 80 U. “Listening” by “occupation”



As the figure makes clear, all the subjects employed in sector I and II self-judged their listening proficiency as “very good”. This is because they belong to the highest age layers. Whereas, subjects employed in sector III show a high variation in proficiency, since they belong to lower age layers. As was expected, in the class of students, the lowest proficiency can be observed.

In conclusion, the subjects' proficiency both in speaking and in listening is age-related: the proficiency increases with the speakers' age.

III.5.2.2. The family

This section deals with the variation in the subjects' choice of Italian vs Arbëresh when talking to other family members with active competence in Arbëresh.

III.5.2.2.1. Parents

The subjects' choice of Italian vs Arbëresh when talking to their parents was used as the dependent variable in a categorical regression analysis, to see how much of the variation in the use of Italian and Arbëresh can be predicted by the subjects' background variables:

Table 53 U. Language choice with parents

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.859$, R multiple=.927, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.875$, R multiple=.935, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta= -.722, $p<.0001$	Beta=.726, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	Beta= .147, $p<.05$	Beta=.143, $p<.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.267, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.232, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	Beta=.204, $p<.0001$	Beta=.231, $p<.0001$

As can be seen from the table, the variation in the use of Italian and Arbëresh can be predicted by the model ($p<.0001$), as can all the individual predictors. In the case of the predictor "age", it is worth looking at its Beta coefficient: in the calculation of the use of Italian, Beta is negative (Beta=-.722), whereas it is positive in the analysis regarding the use of Arbëresh (Beta=.726). An inversely proportional trend emerges: the older the speaker, the more likely it will be that Arbëresh is the preferred language; but the younger the speaker is, the more likely he or she will be to choose Italian.

III.5.2.2.2. Siblings

The following table shows the results of the categorical regression, using the subjects' background variables as predictors, and the subjects' language choice when talking to siblings as the dependent variable:

Table 54 U. Language choice with siblings

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.849$, R multiple=.921, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.852$, R multiple=.923, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta=-.615, $p<.0001$	Beta=.611, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	Beta=.271, $p<.0001$	Beta=.230, $p<.0001$
"Level of education"	Beta=.290, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.302, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	Beta=.301, $p<.0001$	Beta=.262, $p<.0001$

In the case of conversations with siblings, the results of the categorical regression show that the model is highly statistically significant ($p<.0001$), together with all the predictors for both the languages. Moreover, the results about the "age" confirm what was discussed regarding conversation with parents.

III.5.2.2.3. Grandparents

The following table shows the results obtained from a categorical regression analysis, where the subjects' choice between Italian and Arbëresh when talking to grandparents is the dependent variable, and the subjects' background variables are the predictors:

Table 55 U. Language choice with grandparents

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.889$, R multiple=.943, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.894$, R multiple=.945, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta=-.926, $p<.0001$	Beta=.888, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	Beta=.236, $p<.0001$	Beta=.218, $p<.0001$
"Level of education"	Beta=.316, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.292, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	Beta=.236, $p<.0001$	Beta=.240, $p<.0001$

From the results of the categorical regression it is evident that the use of Italian and Arbëresh can be predicted by the model ($p<.0001$), and by each single predictor too. Moreover, this is a further proof that the language choice is age-related.

In conclusion, as in Portocannone, the subjects' language choice depends on the addressers' and addressees' age: the use of Arbëresh increases with their age.

III.5.2.3. The school

Active Arbëresh speakers were asked about their choice between Italian and Arbëresh when talking with active competent speakers in the primary school of Ururi. In order to calculate the exact variation in the language choice, subjects without any schooling were filtered from the sample.

III.5.2.3.1. Teacher

Here too, a categorical regression was used to explain the variation in the subjects' language choice when talking to the teacher, through the predictors "age" and "gender". The results are shown in the following table:

Table 56 U. Language choice with teacher

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender"	$R^2=.730$, $R \text{ multiple}=.855$, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.540$, $R \text{ multiple}=.753$, $p<.0001$
"Age"	$\text{Beta}=-.853$, $p<.0001$	$\text{Beta}=.694$, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$

From the results it emerges that the model is highly significant, but among the predictors, the single factor "age" makes a significant contribution to the variation in the language choice.

III.5.2.3.2. Schoolmates

The subject's "age" and "gender" were entered as predictors of the variation in the language choice when talking to schoolmates, as the categorical regression analysis shows:

Table 57 U. Language choice with schoolmates

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender"	$R^2=.738$, $R \text{ multiple}=.859$, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.635$, $R \text{ multiple}=.797$, $p<.0001$
"Age"	$\text{Beta}=-.848$, $p<.0001$	$\text{Beta}=.791$, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$

The combined model is highly significant, but only the predictor "age" makes a significant contribution to the variation in the language preference.

In conclusion, the findings confirm what has been found in Portocannone: the language choice in the school domain is age-related, i.e. the use of Arbëresh increases

together with the speakers' age. Moreover, Arbëresh is used less in the school domain than in the case of conversations with members of the family, hence as the domain becomes more formal, the minority language is used less than the national language.

III.5.2.4. Friends

In this section, the variation in the speakers' language choice when talking to friends of different ages will be analysed.

III.5.2.4.1. Friends from 3 to 5

The dependent variable is the use of Italian vs Arbëresh when talking to friends from 3 to 5 years old, with the subjects' background variables functioning as predictors:

Table 58 U. Language choice with friends from 3 to 5

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.549$, R multiple=.741, $p<.001$	$p>.05$
"Age"	Beta=-.551, $p<.001$	
"Gender"	$p>.05$	
"Level of education"	Beta=.343, $p<.001$	
"Occupation"	$p>.05$	

The model formed by the informants' background variables is a significant predictor of the variation in the use of Italian only ($p<.0001$), and the individual predictors "age" (with $p<.0001$) and "level of education" (with $p<.0001$) contribute most to the overall significance. On the other hand, the use of Arbëresh is so low that it cannot be predicted by any variable considered here.

III.5.2.4.2. Friends from 6 to 10

The use of Italian vs Arbëresh when talking to friends from 6 to 10 years old is the dependent variable of a categorical regression analysis, where the subjects' background variables are the predictors:

Table 59 U. Language choice with friends from 6 to 10

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.574$, R multiple=.758, $p<.0001$	$p>.05$
"Age"	Beta=-.576, $p<.0001$	
"Gender"	$p>.05$	
"Level of education"	$p>.05$	
"Occupation"	$p>.05$	

In the statistically significant model, only the single predictor “age” ($p < .0001$) makes a significant contribution to the variation in the use of Italian. Whereas, in the case of Arbëresh, the model cannot predict the low variation in the use.

III.5.2.4.3. Friends from 11 to 13

The following table shows the results of a categorical regression where the model formed by the subjects’ background variables was entered as predictor of the choice between Italian and Arbëresh:

Table 60 U. Language choice with friends from 11 to 13

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2 = .516$, R multiple = .718, $p < .0001$	$p > .05$
“Age”	Beta = -.444, $p < .0001$	
“Gender”	Beta = .232, $p < .05$	
“Level of education”	Beta = .300, $p < .05$	
“Occupation”	$p > .05$	

In the case of the use of Italian, the model is statically significant ($p < .0001$), as are all the individual factors, apart from “occupation” ($p > .05$). However, regarding the use of Arbëresh, its low frequency cannot be predicted by any of these factors.

III.5.2.4.4. Friends from 14 to 18

The results of the categorical regression where the variation in the language choice when talking to friends from 14 to 18 is the dependent variable are presented in the following table:

Table 61 U. Language choice with friends from 14 to 18

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2 = .631$, R multiple = .794, $p < .0001$	$R^2 = .724$, R multiple = .851, $p < .0001$
“Age”	Beta = -.761, $p < .0001$	Beta = 1.005, $p < .0001$
“Gender”	Beta = .233, $p < .05$	$p > .05$
“Level of education”	$p > .05$	$p > .05$
“Occupation”	Beta = .199, $p < .05$	Beta = .356, $p = .001$

The use of Italian vs Arbëresh with this group of friends can be predicted by the model ($p < .001$). For the choice of Italian, the predictors “age”, “gender” and “occupation” are statistically significant: whereas only “age” and “occupation” are

significant predictors of the use of Arbëresh. Comparing the results regarding both the languages, it emerges that the Beta coefficient of the predictor “age” is negative (Beta = -.761) in the case of the use of Italian; whereas it is positive (Beta = 1.005) in the case of the use of Arbëresh. This means that the use of Arbëresh increases with the addressers’ age.

III.5.2.4.5. Friends from 19 to 39

The group of friends from 19 to 39 years old is the dependent variable used in the categorical regression analysis where the subjects’ background variables are the predictors as follows:

Table 62 U. Language choice with friends from 19 to 39

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2=.745$, R multiple=.863, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.631$, R multiple=.794, $p<.0001$
“Age”	Beta=-.176, $p<.05$	Beta=.338, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	$p>.05$	Beta=.235, $p<.05$
“Level of education”	Beta=.348, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.571, $p<.0001$
“Occupation”	Beta=.741, $p<.0001$	Beta=.352, $p<.0001$

Clearly, the model can predict the variation in the use of Italian and Arbëresh ($p<.0001$); in the case of the use of Italian, all the predictors are significant, apart from “gender”.

III.5.2.4.6. Friends from 40 to 69

The following table represents the results of a categorical regression where the subjects’ choice between Italian and Arbëresh is the dependent variable, which can be predicted by the subjects’ background variables:

Table 63 U. Language choice with friends from 40 to 69

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2=.818$, R multiple=.904, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.804$, R multiple=.897, $p<.0001$
“Age”	Beta=-.499, $p<.0001$	Beta=.512, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
“Level of education”	Beta=.524, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.543, $p<.0001$
“Occupation”	Beta=.265, $p<.0001$	Beta=.187, $p<.0001$

In the case of conversations with friends aged 40 to 69, the combined model is able to predict the variation in the use of both the languages ($p<.0001$), and all the predictors, other than “gender”, are statistically significant.

III.5.2.4.7. Friends of 70 or over

The language used when talking to friends 70 years old or over were entered as the dependent variable in a categorical regression, the results of which are shown in the following table:

Table 64 U. Language choice with friends 70 or over

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2=.765$, R multiple=.875, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.805$, R multiple=.897, $p<.0001$
“Age”	Beta=-.559, $p<.0001$	Beta=.674, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	Beta=.267, $p<.0001$	Beta=.181, $p<.05$
“Level of education”	Beta=.471, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.370, $p<.0001$
“Occupation”	Beta=.239, $p<.0001$	Beta=.161, $p<.05$

The results confirm the previous data, that is that the use of Arbëresh increases with the addressers’ age. Moreover, it is clear that all the individual predictors are statistically significant to predict the variation in the use of both languages.

In conclusion, it emerges that the language choice is age-related: the use of Arbëresh increases with the addressers’ and addressees’ age; but the use of Italian increases as the addressers’ and addressees’ age decreases.

III.5.2.5. Topics

This section deals with the use of Italian vs Arbëresh in particular topic-bound conversations. The first categorical regression refers to the language used in conversations in daily life, as shown in the following table:

Table 65 U. Language choice in topic-bound conversations: daily life

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
“Age” + “Gender” + “Level of education” + “occupation”	$R^2=.742$, R multiple=.861, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.742$, R multiple=.861, $p<.0001$
“Age”	Beta=-.323, $p<.0001$	Beta=.323, $p<.0001$
“Gender”	Beta=.160, $p<.05$	Beta=.160, $p<.05$
“Level of education”	Beta=.490, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.490, $p<.0001$
“Occupation”	Beta=.324, $p<.0001$	Beta=.324, $p<.0001$

In the case of conversations in daily life, the model can predict the variation in the use of Italian and Arbëresh ($p < .0001$), and all the predictors are statistically significant for the use of both languages.

The results of the categorical regression analysis, using the subjects' language choice in conversations about agriculture as the dependent variable, are reported in the following table:

Table 66 U. Language choice in topic-bound conversations: agriculture

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2 = .658$, R multiple = .811, $p < .0001$	$R^2 = .607$, R multiple = .779, $p < .0001$
"Age"	Beta = -.630, $p < .0001$	Beta = .766, $p < .0001$
"Gender"	Beta = .189, $p < .05$	$p > .05$
"Level of education"	Beta = .246, $p < .0001$	Beta = .207, $p < .05$
"Occupation"	Beta = .196, $p = .001$	Beta = .221, $p < .05$

In the case of the use of Arbëresh, all the variables other than "gender" are statistically significant, whereas all the variables can predict the variation in the use of Italian.

Table 67 U. Language choice in topic-bound conversations: sport

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2 = .221$, R multiple = .470, $p < .05$	$p > .05$
"Age"	Beta = -.384, $p < .0001$	
"Gender"	$p > .05$	
"Level of education"	$p > .05$	
"Occupation"	$p > .05$	

When the language choice is related to conversations about sport, the model is able to predict the variation in the case of the use of Italian only, where the predictor "age" alone is statistically significant. Whereas, in the case of Arbëresh, the model used does not make a significant contribution to the variation in its use. The use of Arbëresh is so low that it cannot be predicted by any of the variable considered here.

It was not possible to run a categorical regression using the subjects' choice of Italian vs Arbëresh in conversations about economics and politics, because all the subjects use Italian alone in such conversations.

III.5.2.6. Language for non-communicative purposes

The following tables show the results of a categorical regression analysis, where the dependent variable is the subjects' choice between Italian and Arbëresh in situations when the language is used for non-communicative purposes, i.e. dreaming and mental counting: The aim is to see whether the variation in the language choice can be predicted by the subjects' background variables.

Table 68 U. Language choice when dreaming

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.806$, R multiple=.898, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.801$, R multiple=.895, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta=-.460, $p<.0001$	Beta=.460, $p<.0001$
"Gender"	Beta=.190, $p<.05$	Beta=.180, $p<.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.402, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.436, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	Beta=.325, $p<.0001$	Beta=.238, $p<.0001$

In the case of the language choice when dreaming, for the use of both languages the combined model used as predictor is highly significant ($p<.0001$), and all the individual predictors too.

Table 69 U. Language choice when mental counting

Predictors	Italian	Arbëresh
"Age" + "Gender" + "Level of education" + "occupation"	$R^2=.742$, R multiple=.861, $p<.0001$	$R^2=.693$, R multiple=.833, $p<.0001$
"Age"	Beta=-.275, $p<.0001$	Beta=.214, $p<.05$
"Gender"	$p>.05$	$p>.05$
"Level of education"	Beta=.471, $p<.0001$	Beta=-.609, $p<.0001$
"Occupation"	Beta=.372, $p<.0001$	$p>.05$

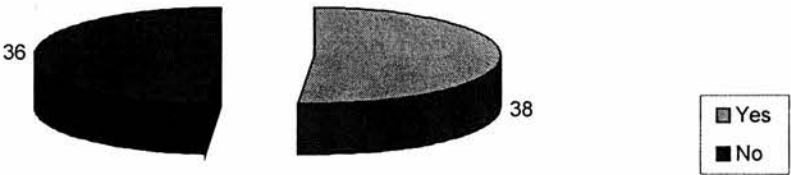
The model is highly significant ($p<.0001$) in the variation of the use of Italian and Arbëresh when mental counting. Moreover, in the case of Italian, all the variables except "gender" are statistically significant, whereas the variables able to predict the variation in Arbëresh are "age" and "level of education".

III.5.3. ARBËRESH COMMUNITY’S ATTITUDES TOWARDS ARBËRESH LANGUAGE AND STANDARD ALBANIAN

III.5.3.1. Arbëresh transmission

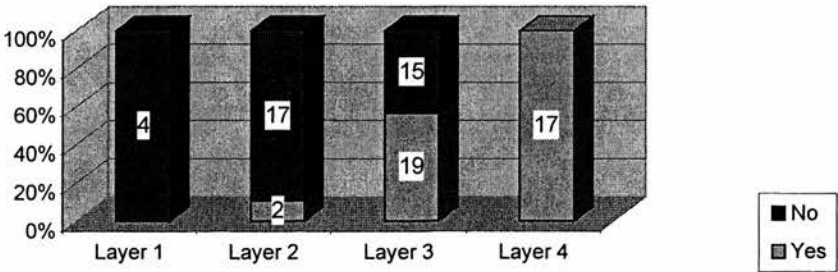
The question about the intention of transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation was posed to all active speakers: subjects without children were asked about their future intention. The informants’ answers are graphically represented in the figure below:

Figure 81 U. Arbëresh transmission



The type of answers are almost balanced, however it is worth noting the interaction between the subjects’ age and the positive and negative answers, shown in the following figure:

Figure 82 U. Arbëresh transmission by “age”

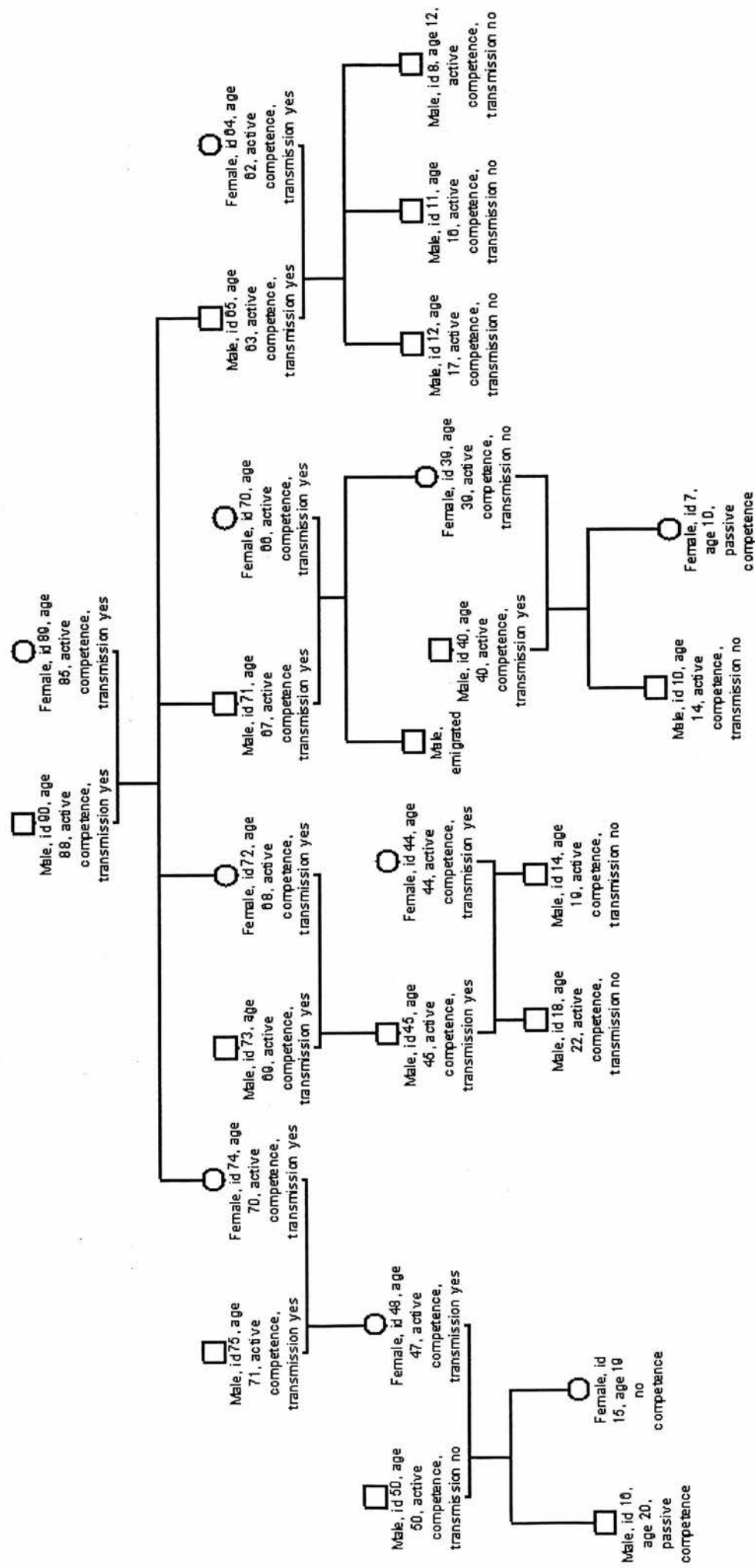


Clearly, the intention of transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation is strongly influenced by the subjects’ age: all the subjects from layer 1 expressed no intention of transmitting Arbëresh in the future; in layer 2, the majority of the informants did not/do not intend to transmit Arbëresh to their off-spring, apart from a very low percentage only. However, the percentage of positive answers increases in layer 3, reaching the highest level in layer 4, where all the subjects intended to transmit. As in Portocannone, most of the transmission has ceased between layer 3 and layer 2.

The data were collected from eight families of Ururi, represented here through family trees, with each member labelled by the following information:

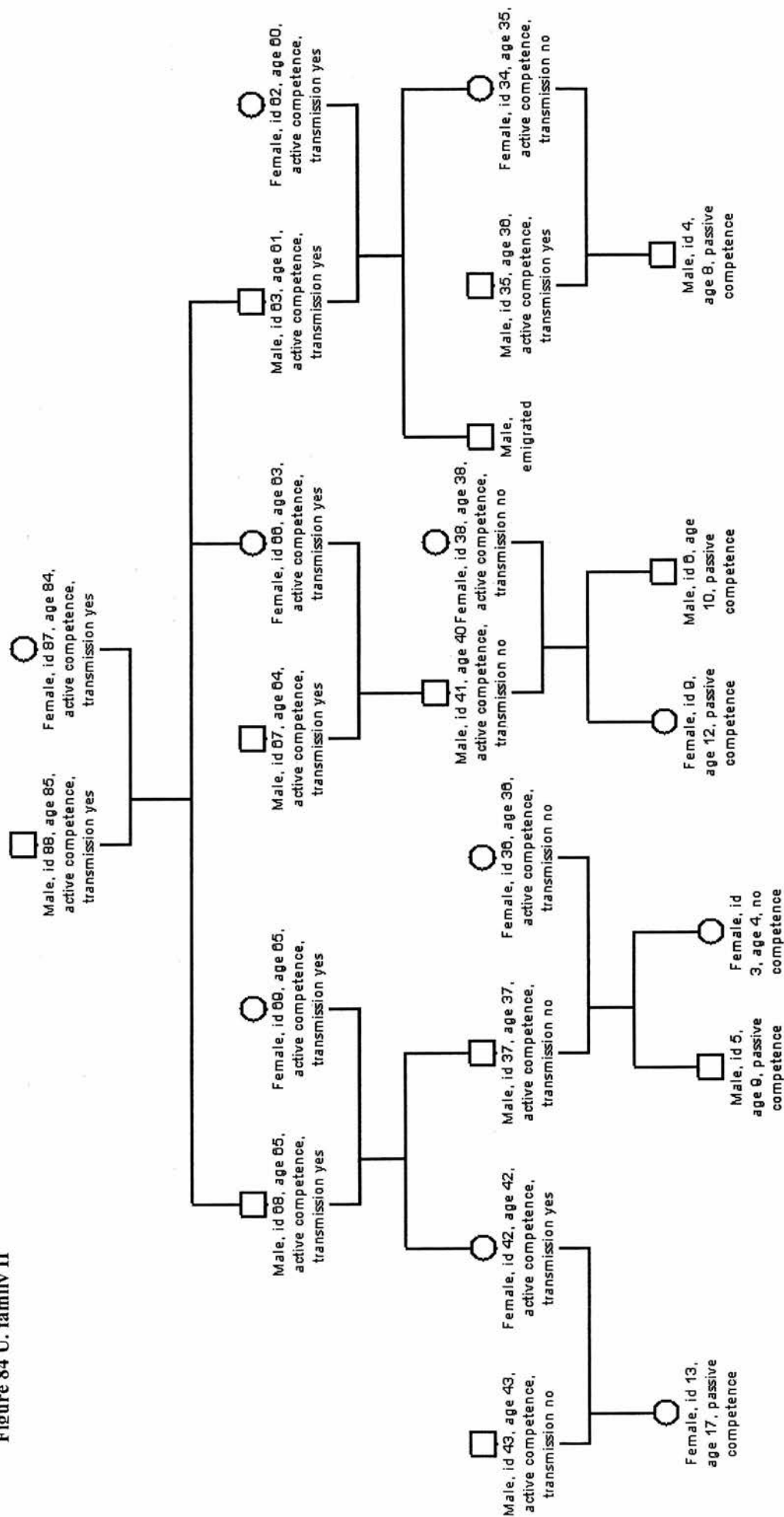
1. Identity number;
2. Gender;
3. Degree of competence in Arbëresh;
4. Intention of transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation.

Figure 83 U. family I



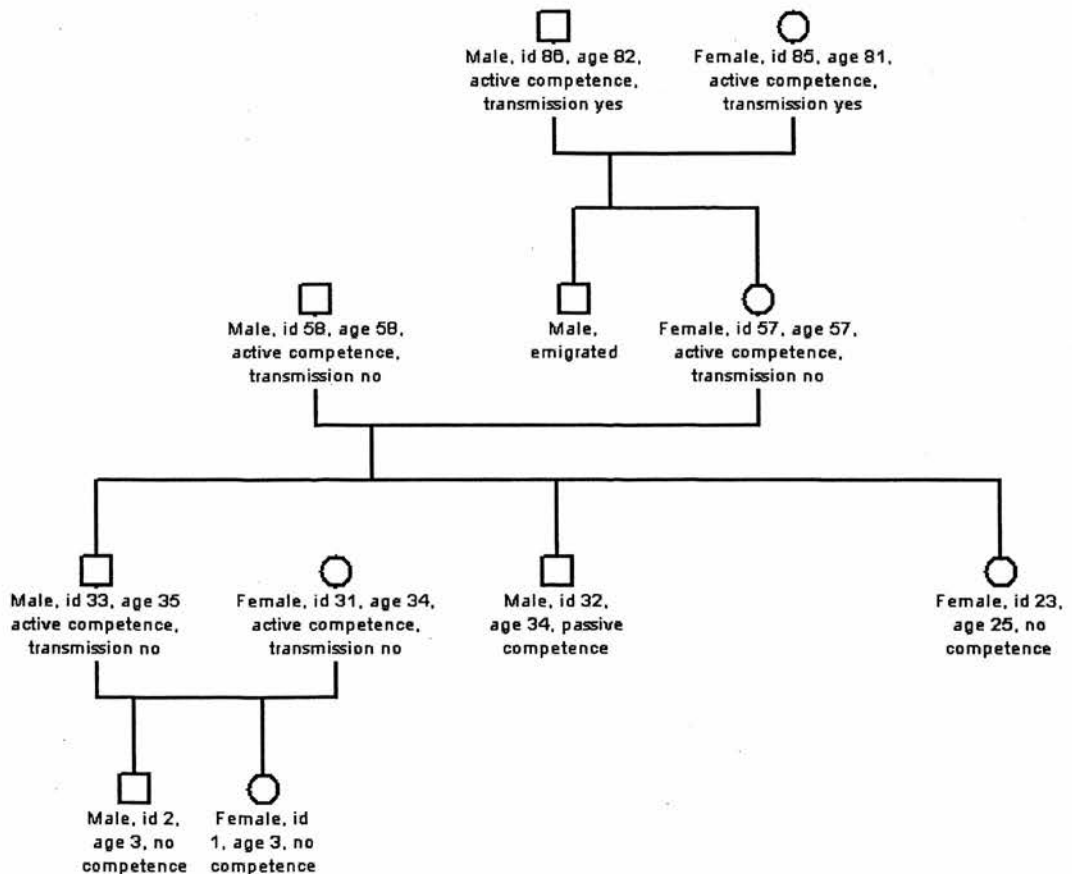
As discussed before, all the subjects belonging to the first two generations show the same characteristics: all of them have active competence and did intend to transmit the language to their children. A change in attitudes towards language transmission can be found in the third generation. Apart from the couple formed by id 45 and 44, where both of them are active speakers with intention of transmitting Arbëresh, members of the other couples do not have the same attitudes. Id 50 and 48, active speakers, have different attitudes about transmission: the man did not intend to transmit, whereas his wife did. The same is to be found in the other couple formed by id 40 and 39, where one member did wish to transmit the language, while the other did not. The youngest active speakers of the third generation did not have any intention of transmitting Arbëresh in the future. The fourth generation shows the result of the change in their parents' attitudes. Apart from the two active speakers, off-spring of a couple with the intention of transmitting, the others show a lower degree of proficiency in Arbëresh.

Figure 84 U. family II



As in family I, here too, the members belonging to the first two generations are all active speakers and expressed intention of transmitting Arbëresh. Things change with the third generation. The couple formed by two active speakers, id 43 and 42, and the other formed by id 35 and 34, show different types of attitudes towards the language: the former did not wish to transmit, the latter did. Whereas, the couple formed by id 37 and 36, and the one formed by id 41 and 38, who are all active speakers, did not have the intention of transmitting. The material result of the change in the parents' attitudes can be seen in the fourth generation, where there is no active Arbëresh speaker.

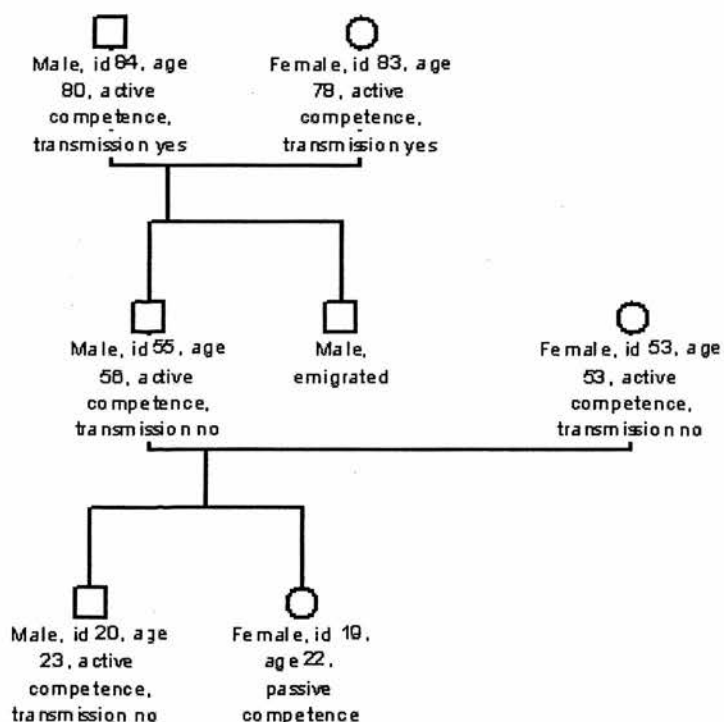
Figure 85 U. family III



In this family, the change in attitudes is to be found in the second generation. However, it is worth noting that the speakers belonging to the first and the second generation are younger than the members of these generations in the previous families. The active-speaker couple of the second generation did not intend to transmit Arbëresh to their off-spring. Their children show the results of their parents' attitudes: two of

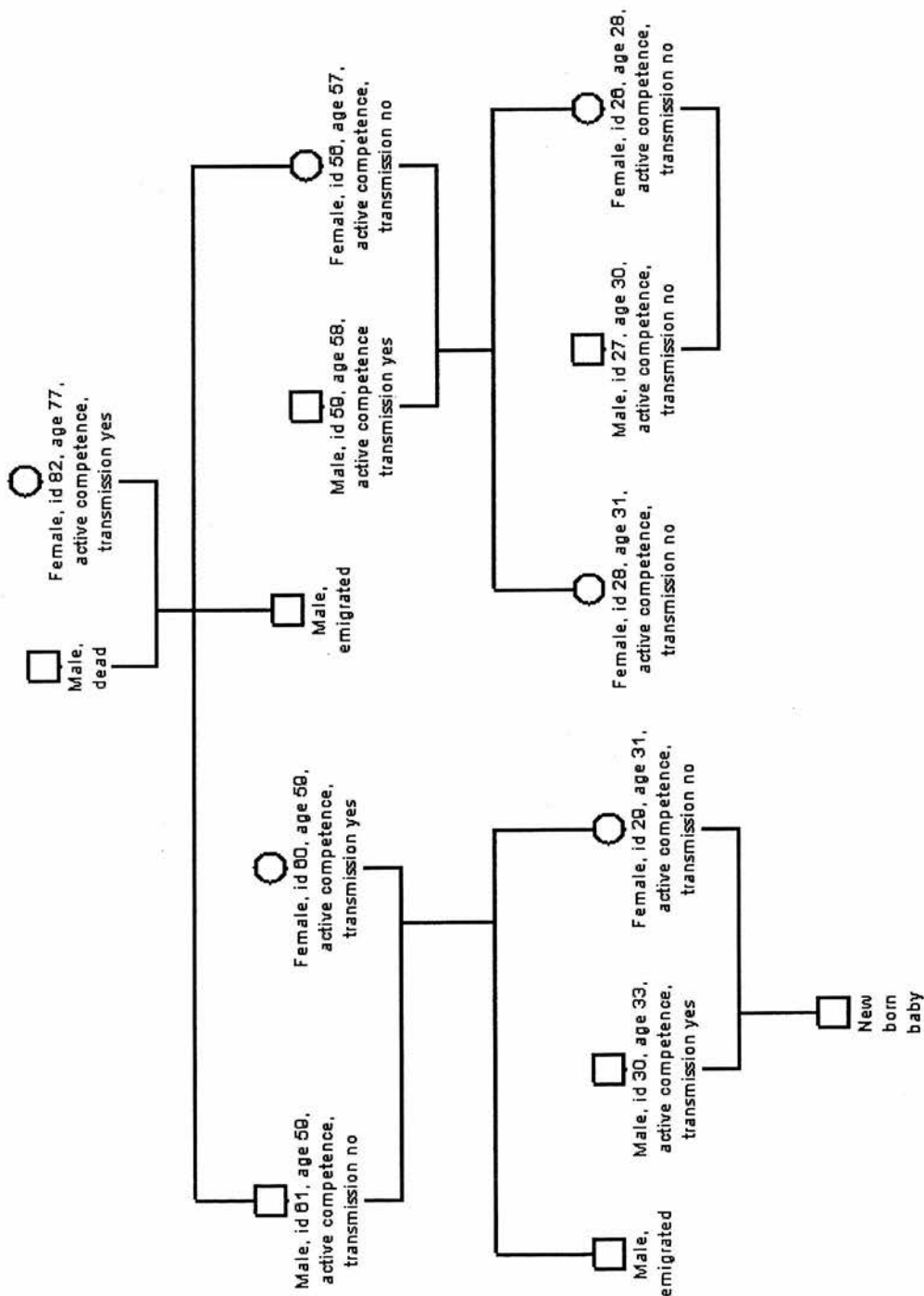
them have, respectively, passive and no competence, the oldest one, even though he is an active speaker of Arbëresh, did not wish to transmit the language to his off-spring. The results of these attitudes, shared by his wife, can be seen in their children's competence: they are not proficient in Arbëresh at all.

Figure 86 U. family IV



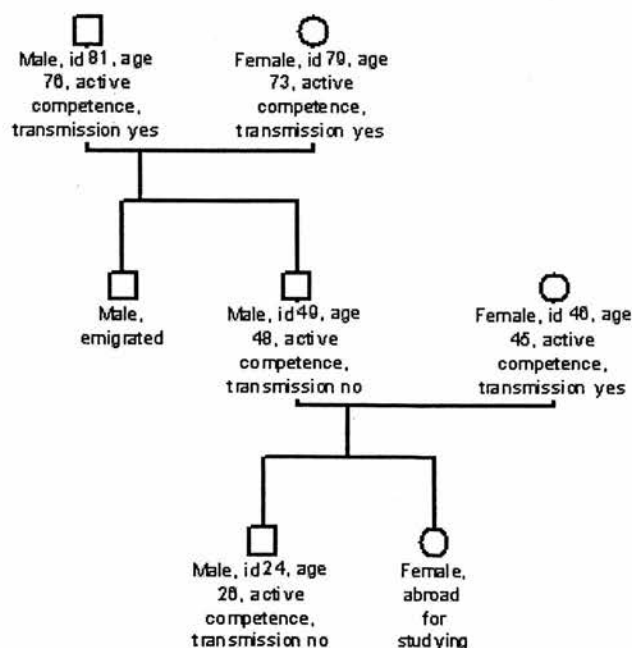
The same picture depicted by the previous family tree can be seen in family IV. In the second generation, both the members of the couple show the same attitudes towards Arbëresh: they did not intend to transmit the language to their children. The oldest of their children is an active Arbëresh speaker, but with no intention of transmitting the language in the future, whereas the youngest is a passive speaker of Arbëresh.

Figure 87 U. family V



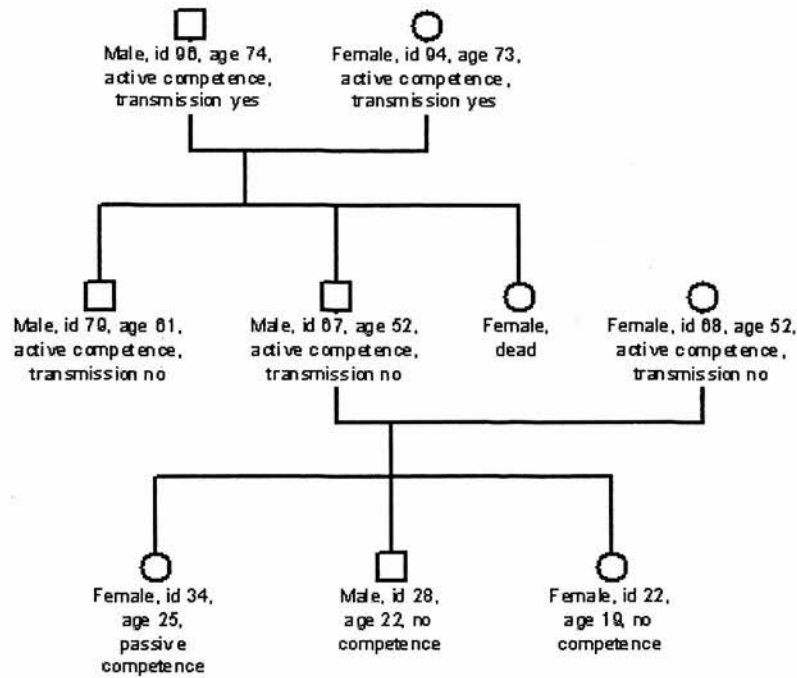
In the family tree above, there is a noticeable change in the attitudes towards Arbëresh, starting with the second generation. Here both the couples are formed by subjects with different attitudes about Arbëresh transmission to their off-spring. However, their children are active speakers of Arbëresh. Nevertheless, apart from id 30, none of them expressed any intention of transmitting the language in the future.

Figure 88 U. family VI



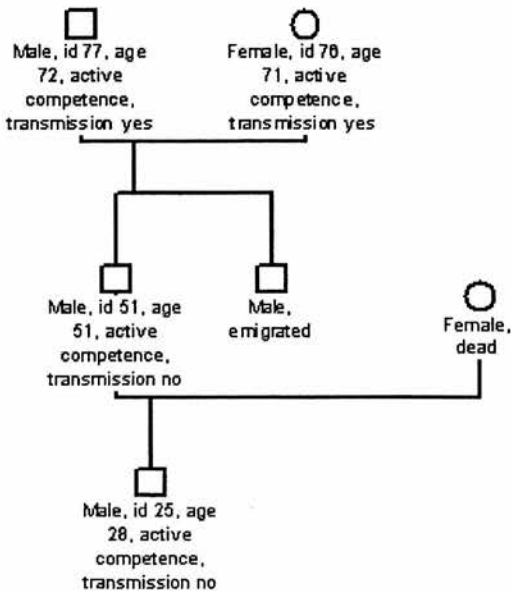
In this case too, the break of language transmission has happened in the second generation. Indeed, the couple of this generation shows different attitudes towards Arbëresh: one member did intend to transmit the language to her off-spring, while the other did not. Their son, an active competent speaker, does not have any intention of transmitting the language in the future.

Figure 89 U. family VII



Apart from the couple of the first generation, where both the members are active speakers with the intention of transmitting, all the active speakers of the second generation did not intend to transmit Arbëresh to their off-spring. Indeed, their children show different degrees of competence in Arbëresh.

Figure 90 U. family VIII



The family tree above shows a change in the attitudes towards Arbëresh from the second generation. Indeed, the active speaker id 51, whose parents are active speakers with the intention of transmitting Arbëresh, did not intend to transmit the language to his children. His son, an active competent speaker, will not transmit Arbëresh in the future.

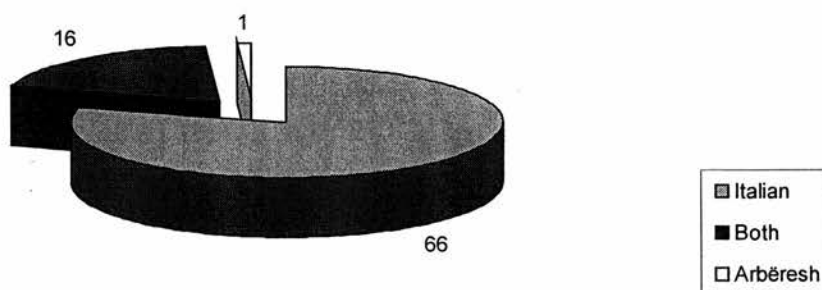
III.5.3.1.1. Discussion

As in Portocannone, the gradual shift from Arbëresh to Italian is clear, following the intergenerational lines of the family trees. Although the shift has been very slow in comparison to Campomarino, it is possible to observe the passage from a wide-spread active competence in Arbëresh, to a passive one, and finally to the lack of any knowledge of the language among the young generation. Moreover, changes in the attitudes might be recorded. In fact the whole set of speakers' attitudes towards the language and the usefulness of transmitting it to all their children constitute a sociopsycholinguistic continuum: from the old speakers' positive attitudes, to almost negative attitudes among the intervening generations, and finally to completely negative attitudes among the young speakers. Old speakers found it worthwhile to transmit the language to the next generation. In fact all of their children have active competence in Arbëresh. Things change with the intervening generations who show almost negative attitudes towards Arbëresh, generally finding it not worth transmitting the language to their children. However, as in the case of Portocannone, even though their parents did not want to transmit, a small minority of their children actually have a certain degree of competence in Arbëresh which was acquired by means of contact with other active speakers. Finally, young generations do not have any intention to transmit the language in the future.

III.5.3.2. The most important language

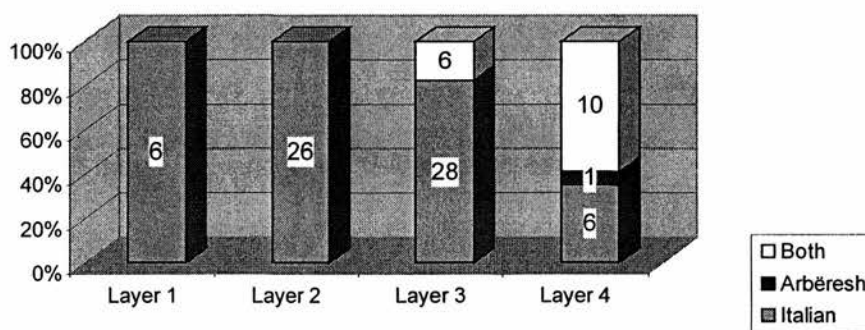
The following pie-chart reflects the opinion of Arbëresh people¹ regarding the main language which they consider ought to be spoken in their community:

Figure 91 U. The most important language



As shown in the pie-chart, the majority of subjects consider Italian to be the main language which should be spoken in their community. However, 16 subjects believe that both languages are important, followed by a very small percentage who consider Arbëresh the main language to be spoken in Ururi. In order to shed light on these results, it is worth looking at the following figure, representing the subjects' answers according to their age:

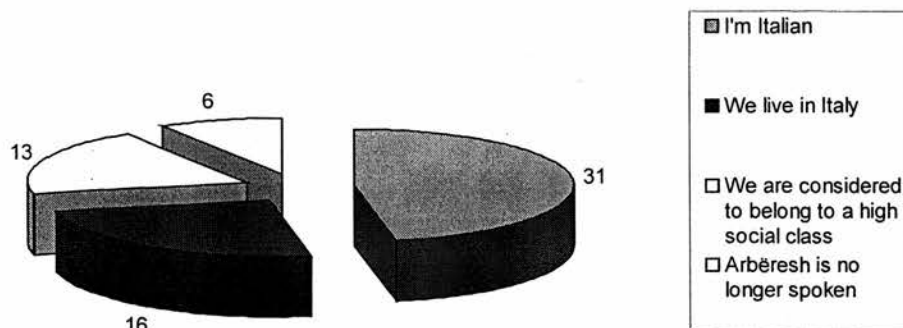
Figure 92 U. The most important language by "age"



While all the subjects of the first two layers consider Italian to be the most important language to use, in layer 3, apart from the majority who share this opinion, there is a small percentage of subjects who consider both Italian and Arbëresh to be important languages to know and speak in their village. This percentage increases in layer 4. Indeed, the majority of subjects 70 years old and over consider both the languages to be important, and this is followed by 6 subjects who felt Italian to be the most important language. In the same layer, 1 subject only considers Arbëresh the most important language to speak in Ururi, because they are Arbëresh.

The following figures show the reasons the subjects gave to justify their choices:

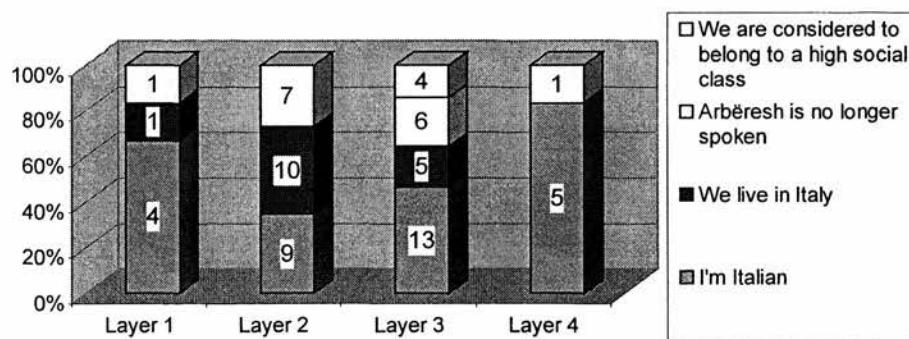
Figure 93 U. Italian the most important language



The pie-chart above shows the reasons the subjects gave for considering Italian to be the most important language. The majority of subjects gave this answer for national identity reasons. As in Portocannone, the perceived feeling that, when others heard them speaking Italian, they would be seen as belonging to a high social class, is present in Ururi too. Only 6 subjects consider Italian to be the most important language, because Arbëresh is no longer spoken.

The following chart illustrates the interactions between the subjects' age and their reason for considering Italian to be the most important language to speak:

Figure 94 U. Italian the most important language by "age"



The majority of subjects in all the layers justify their choice on the basis of national identity reasons. However, the concentration is in layer 1 and layer 4, that is the in the younger and in the older subjects. It seems that the least and the most conservative classes are most influenced by the generally spread negative attitudes towards Albanians and it could be the reason for which they claim their national identity. The feeling of being perceived as belonging to a high social class is shared by a proportion of subjects from all the layers. A small percentage of subjects who consider Italian to be the most important language, because Arbëresh is no longer spoken, can be

observed in layer 3. The following is a piece of conversation with an active speaker of layer 4:

- Investigator: “[...] *mi hai detto che parli arbëresh con i tuoi amici, vero?*” (“you said you speak Arbëresh with your friends, right?”)

- Subject: “*sì, con tutti loro*” (“yes, with all of them”)

- Investigator: “*quindi, pensi che l’arbëresh sia la lingua più importante da parlare in paese?*” (“so, do you think Arbëresh is the most important language to speak in this village?”)

- Subject: “*no, no...*” (“no, no...”)

- Investigator: “*e cosa pensi sia importante?*” (“and which do you think is important?”)

- Subject: “*eh... l’italiano...*” (“eh... Italian...”)

- Investigator: “*e per quale motivo?*” (“and for what reason?”)

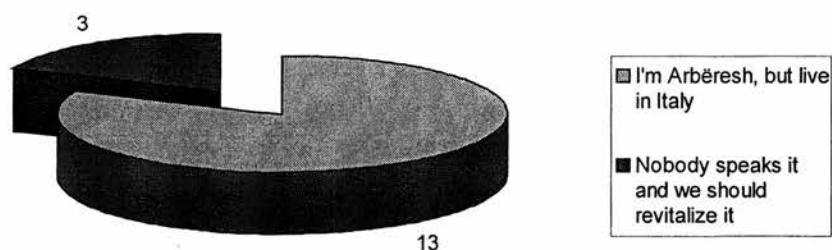
- Subject: “*perché noi siamo Italiani, veniamo da Albanesi, ma ormai sono tanti anni che siamo in Italia*” (“because we are Italian, our ancestors are Albanians, but we have been in Italy for many years now”)

- Investigator: “*e l’arbëresh, non pensi sia importante?*” (“and Arbëresh, don’t you think it’s important?”)

Subject: “*guarda, l’arbëresh è solo il nostro dialetto, ed il dialetto non è molto importante...*” (“look, Arbëresh is only our dialect, and the dialect isn’t very important...”)

The following pie-chart presents the reasons the subjects gave to justify their view that both Italian and Arbëresh are important languages to speak in their community:

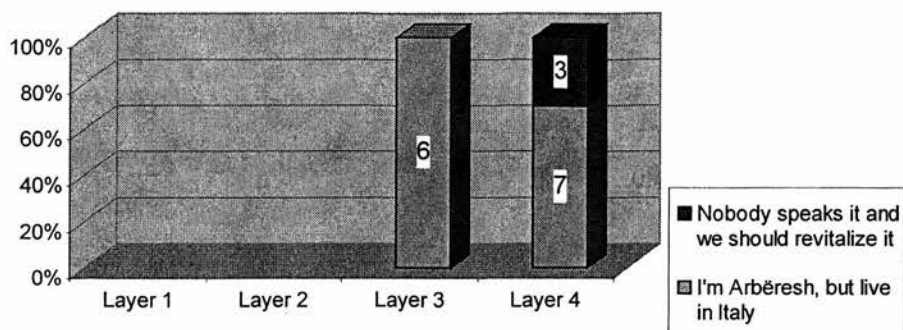
Figure 95 U. Both languages are important



The majority of subjects who consider both languages to be important to use in their community believe that they should speak Arbëresh because they are Arbëresh, but, living in Italy, Italian should be as important as Arbëresh. 3 subjects consider Italian to be important to use, because they live in Italy, but Arbëresh, too, should be spoken in order to revitalize it.

The following bar-chart shows the interactions between the subjects' age and their reason for considering both Italian and Arbëresh to be important languages to speak:

Figure 96 U. Both languages are important by "age"



From the figure it emerges that only subjects from layers 3 and 4 consider both languages to be important to speak in their community. The following is a piece of conversation with an active speaker from layer 4.

- Investigator: "*Secondo te, quale lingua si dovrebbe parlare a Ururi?*" ("which language do you think should be spoken in Ururi?")

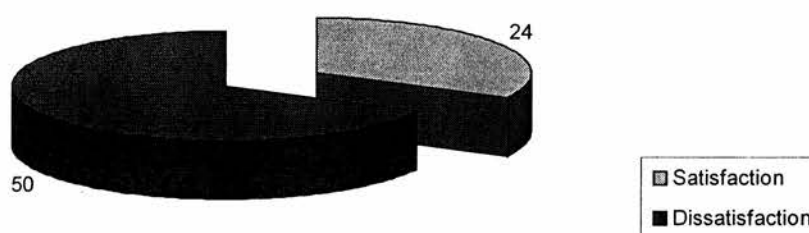
- Subject: "*ma....non so scegliere...*" ("well... I can't chose...")

- Investigator: “*in che senso?*” (“what you mean?”)
- Subject: “*noi, come italiani dobbiamo parlare l’italiano se vogliamo comunicare con tutti gli altri, ma anche l’arbëresh è importante...*” (“as Italians, we should speak Italian if we want to communicate with everyone else, but Arbëresh is important too...”)
- Investigator: “*l’importanza dell’italiano l’ho capita, ma perché è importante l’arbëresh?*” (“I can understand why Italian is important for you, but why is Arbëresh important too?”)
- Subject: “*è la nostra lingua, ma pochi la parlano, quindi se tutti noi la parlassimo continuerebbe a esistere*” (“it’s our language, but few of us speak it, therefore if we all spoke it, it would continue to exist”).

III.5.3.3. Satisfaction and desire

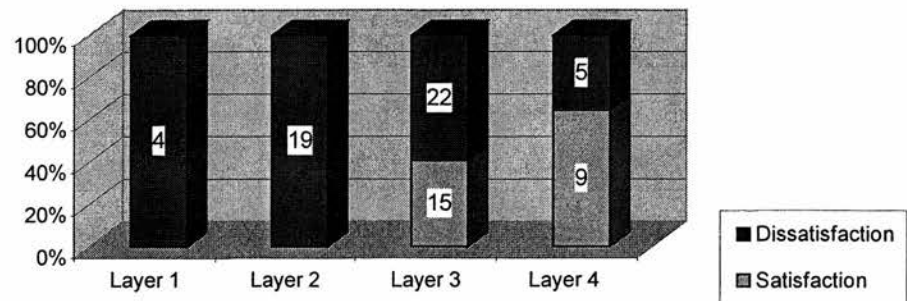
The percentages of bilinguals who expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction with speaking Arbëresh are shown in the following figure:

Figure 97 U. Bilinguals’ satisfaction or dissatisfaction



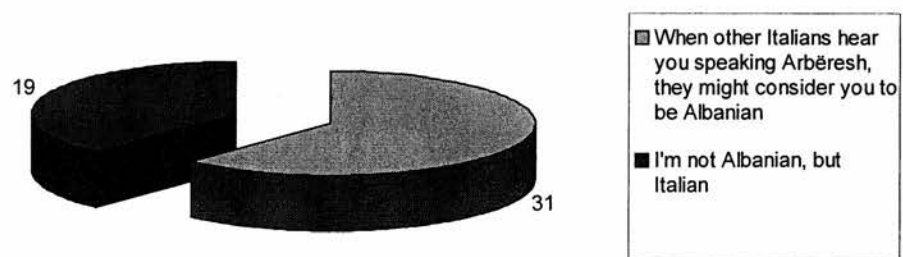
More than twice as many speakers express dissatisfaction as express satisfaction. The interaction between these two opposite opinions and “age” is represented in the following chart:

Figure 98 U. Bilinguals' satisfaction and dissatisfaction by "age"



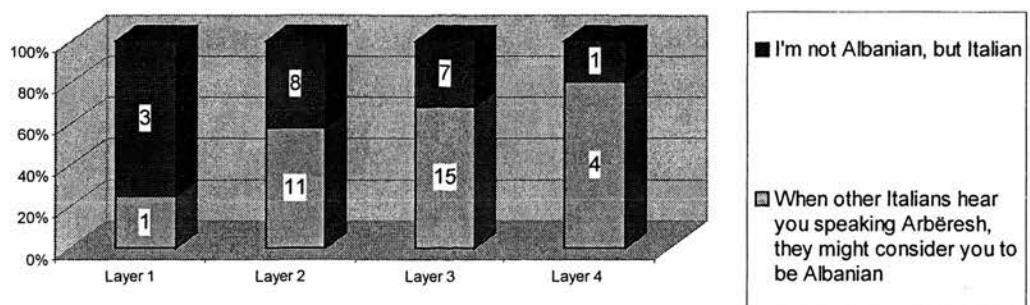
The vitality of Arbëresh and Arbëresh people's attitudes towards it can be "measured" from the above chart. Indeed, none of the subjects from layers 1 and 2 expressed satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh, whereas bilinguals' degree of satisfaction increases moving from layer 3 to 4. The reasons bilinguals gave for being dissatisfied with speaking Arbëresh are shown in the following figure:

Figure 99 U. Bilinguals' dissatisfaction



The reasons given for being dissatisfied with speaking Arbëresh overlap with those given in Portocannone. However, the feeling that, being heard speaking Arbëresh, they might be categorized as Albanian, is more widespread here than in Portocannone. Considerably fewer subjects advanced national identity reasons to justify their choice.

Figure 100 U. Bilinguals' dissatisfaction by "age"



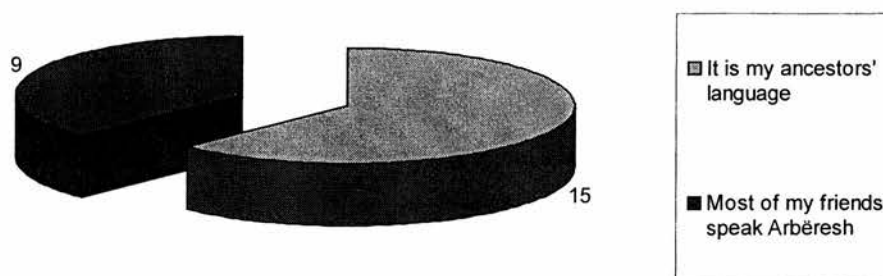
While the national identity feeling increases as the speakers' age decreases, the fear of being taken for Albanians increases as the speakers' age increases. The following is a piece of conversation with an active Arbëresh speaker of layer 2:

- Investigator: *“Come definiresti il fatto che sei in grado di parlare arbëresh, non tutti lo sanno fare, cioè sei soddisfatto oppure no?”* (“How would you characterise the fact that you are capable of speaking Arbëresh, not everyone can do it, I mean, are you satisfied or not?”)

- Subject: *“sinceramente non mi fa sentire meglio di altri, del resto sono un Italiano come altri, non sono un Albanese”* (“to be honest, it doesn't make me feel better than others, and besides, I'm Italian like them, not Albanian”).

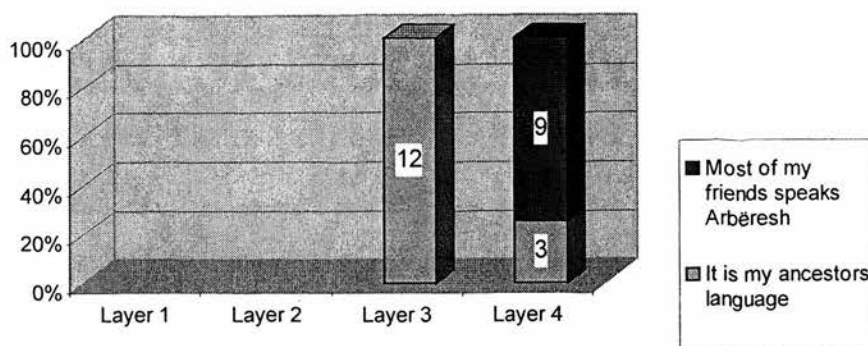
The reasons the subjects gave for being satisfied with speaking Arbëresh are shown in the following pie-chart:

Figure 101 U. Bilinguals' satisfaction



Bilinguals' satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh is mostly due to the fact that it is the language spoken by their ancestors. A smaller proportion expressed satisfaction with speaking it because the majority of their friends speak Arbëresh.

Figure 102 U. Bilinguals' satisfaction by "age"



The following is a piece of conversation with an active Arbëresh speaker of layer 3:

- Investigator: "... *quindi, deduco che tu sia soddisfatto di saper parlare arbëresh, vero?*"
 ("...so I take it that you are proud of speaking Arbëresh, correct?")

- Subject: "*sì...sì è vero*" ("yes... yes it's true")

- Investigator: "*mi spieghi perché?*" ("can you explain to me why?")

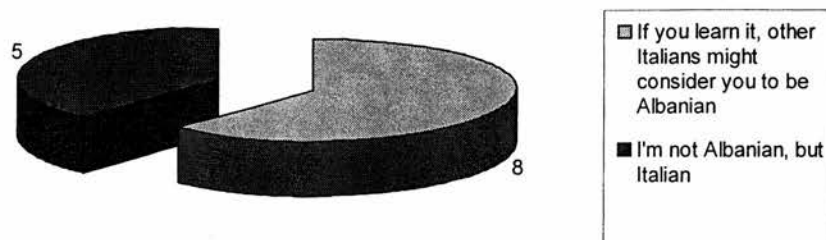
- Subject: "*perché è giusto, è nostro dovere parlarlo...*" ("because it is right, it's our duty to speak it")

- Investigator: "*dovere, e perché?*" ("your duty - why?")

- Subject: "*noi siamo qui perché i nostri padri sono fuggiti dall'Albania e si sono rifugiati in Italia, quindi se noi esistiamo lo dobbiamo a loro. Il minimo che possiamo fare per ricordarci di loro e ricordarci chi siamo è parlare la loro lingua*" ("we are here because our fathers escaped from Albania and took refuge in Italy, therefore if we exist, it's on account of them. The least we can do to remember them, and remind us who we are, is to speak their language").

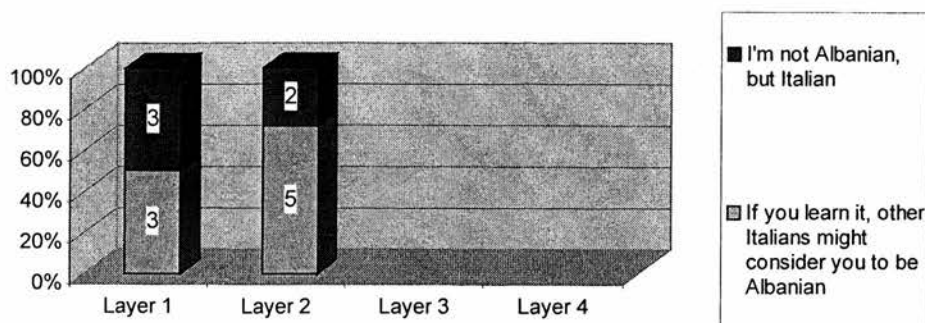
Subjects with a passive competence in Arbëresh, and those who are monolingual in Italian² were asked whether they wish to learn Arbëresh. The results are clear: neither the monolinguals of Italian nor the passive Arbëresh speakers would like to learn it. The reasons the subjects gave are shown in the figure below:

Figure 103 U. Lack of desire



One would expect that these subjects would not like to learn Arbëresh mostly for national identity reasons. However, the percentage of subjects who do not want to learn Arbëresh because they might be taken for Albanians is much higher than those citing identity reasons. The following figure shows the reasons the subjects gave according to their age:

Figure 104 U. Lack of desire by “age”



In layer 1, the situation between the two reasons is balanced, whereas in layer 2 the majority of subjects do not wish to learn Arbëresh, because other Italians might consider them to be Albanians. This is a piece of conversation with a monolingual subject of layer 1:

- Investigator: “*Mi hai detto che alcuni tuoi amici sanno parlare arbëresh. A te non piacerebbe impararlo?*” (“you said that some of your friends can speak Arbëresh. Wouldn’t you like to learn it?”)

- Subject: “*no, proprio no!*” (“no, no way!”)

- Investigator: “*c’è un motivo?*” (“is there a reason?”)

- Subject: “*non c’è nessun motivo di impararlo!*” (“there is no reason to learn it!”)

- Investigator: “*ne sei proprio sicuro?*” (“are you quite sure about that?”)

- Subject: *“assolutamente sì. Sai cosa succede quando siamo sul treno per andare a scuola e dei miei amici parlano arbëresh?”* (“absolutely yes. Do you know what happens when we are on the train to go to school and some of my friends speak Arbëresh?”)

- Investigator: *“non saprei...”* (“I don’t know...”)

- Subject: *“io sento gli altri... dicono “sono Albanesi”... e secondo me se possono vanno a sedersi in un’altra carrozza...”* “I can hear the others... they say “they are Albanian”... and I think that if they can, they go sit in another coach...”)

- Investigator: *“addirittura, e perché?”* (“really, and why?”)

- Subject: *“perché pensano che sei un delinquente”* (“because they believe you are a criminals”)

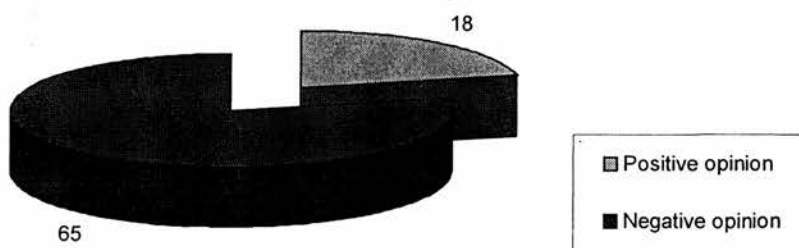
- Investigator: *“un criminale? E perché?”* (“a criminal? And why?”)

- Subject: *“perché tutti gli Albanesi sono dei delinquenti...”* (“because all Albanians are criminal...”).

III.5.3.4. Standard Albanian in schools

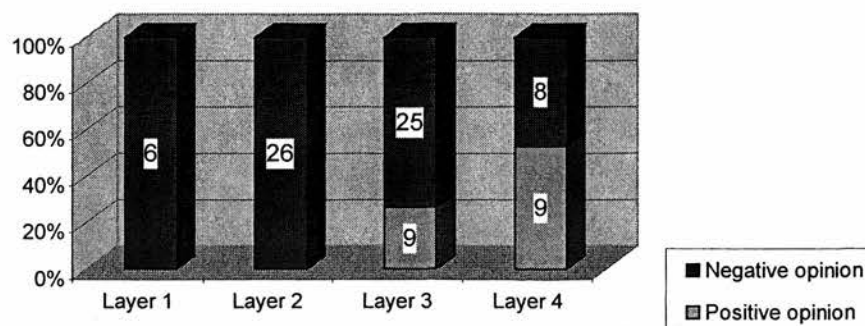
The Arbëresh community’s opinion³ on the introduction of standard Albanian as a school subject is shown in the following figure:

Figure 105 U. Albanian as a school subject



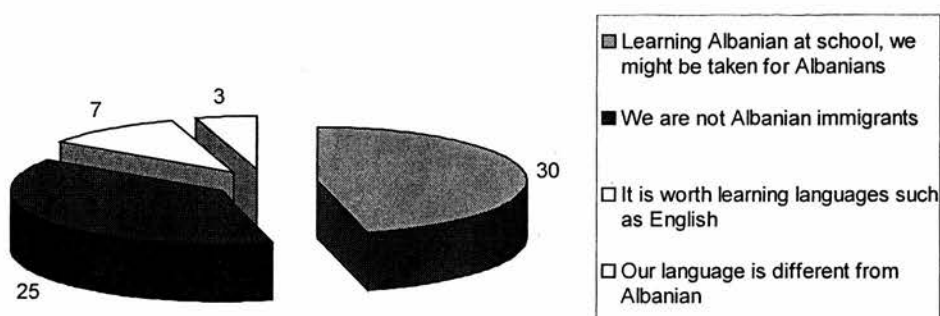
The majority of subjects would not like to have Albanian as a school subject. The chart below presents the informants’ opinion according to their age:

Figure 106 U. Albanian as a school subject by "age"



From the figure it emerges that only subjects of the highest layers expressed a positive opinion on the introduction of Albanian as a school subject: its percentage increases from layer 3 to layer 4. In contrast, the percentage of people expressing a negative opinion increases moving from layer 4 to layer 2 and 1, where none of the subjects agreed with the introduction of Albanian in schools. The reasons the subjects gave for their disagreement can be seen in the following figure:

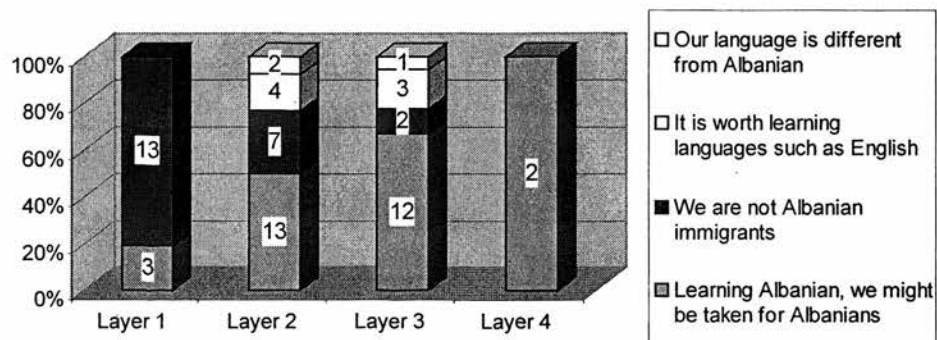
Figure 107 U. Albanian as a school subject: negative opinion



The most frequent reason the subjects gave was that they do not want Albanian in schools because they might be considered to be Albanians. The second reason is quite similar, "we are not Albanian immigrants". Only a small percentage of subjects seem to consider Arbëresh to be a language not worth learning because it is useless in the modern world, and that it would be better to learn languages such as English, which are useful. A very few subjects believe that, if they want to improve their Arbëresh, they should not be taught Albanian, because Arbëresh and Albanian are very different from each other.

The following chart shows the reasons the subjects gave according to their age:

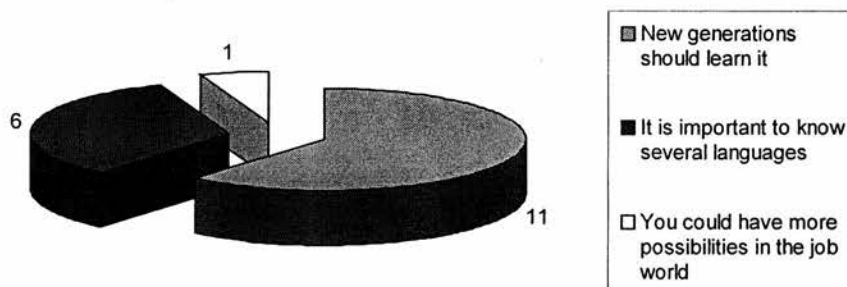
Figure 108 U. Albanian as a school subjects: negative opinion by “age”



All the subjects from layers 1 and 4 expressed the fear that they might be taken for Albanians, or the related identity statement about not being Albanian immigrants. It is interesting that these were the sole reactions given by the youngest and the oldest speakers. In layers 2 and 3, at least a small proportion of the subjects gave the other two reasons discussed before.

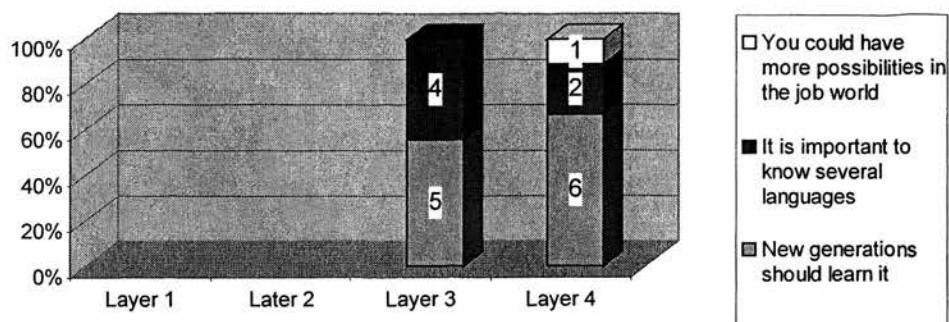
The pie-chart below shows the reasons the subjects gave for agreeing with the introduction of Albanian as a school subject:

Figure 109 U. Albanian as a school subject: positive opinion



The majority of subjects who expressed a positive opinion on the introduction of Albanian in schools justified this choice by saying that, through learning it, new generations would be able to speak their ancestors' language. Other 6 subjects consider Albanian to be worth learning because today it is important to know foreign languages. Finally, one subject only gave a similar reason: they believe that learning Albanian would mean further possibilities in the job world, i.e. for working as interpreters. The interaction between these reasons and the subjects' age is shown in the following bar-chart:

Figure 110 U. Albanian as a school subject by "age"



The majority of subjects of both layer 3 and layer 4 expressed a positive opinion on Albanian as a school subject, because they believe that new generations should learn Arbëresh. The following is a piece of conversation with an active speaker of layer 4:

- Investigator: *“Se decidessero di inserire l'albanese, quello moderno, a scuola, saresti d'accordo?”* (“if modern Albanian were introduced in school, would you support it?”)

- Subject: *“per farlo studiare ai ragazzzi?”* (“for teaching it to young people?”)

- Investigator: *“sì, così come si studia l'inglese”* (“yes, as they are taught English”)

- Subject: *“certamente!”* (“sure!”)

- Investigator: *“ti vedo molto convinta, perché?”* (“you are very sure about it, why?”)

- Subject: *“perché i ragazzzi di oggi non lo sanno parlare e imparandolo a scuola sarebbero molto bravi a farlo... a parlare..”* (“because young people today can't speak it, and if they learn [Arbëresh] at school, they could speak it very well...”)

- Investigator: *“perché pensi che sia necessario che i giovani lo imparino?”* (“why do you think it's necessary that young people should learn it?”)

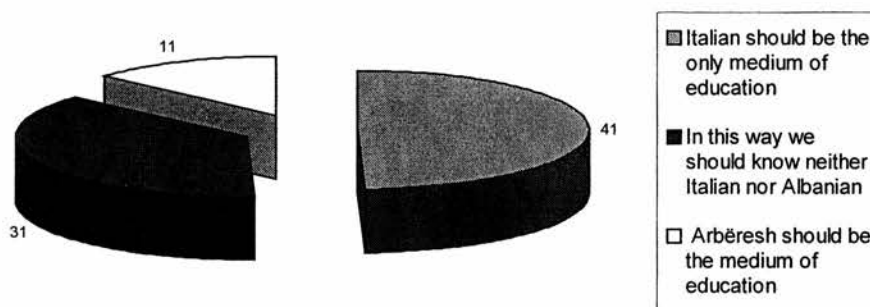
- Subject: *“sì, devono farlo e i genitori non glielo fanno sentire... cioè non parlano con loro il nostro dialetto, sì è bene che lo studino a scuola...”* (“yes, they should do it, and their parents don't speak [Arbëresh] with them... I mean, they don't speak our dialect with them, so it's good that they should learn it at school...”)

- Investigator: *“ma se i genitori non vogliono insegnarglielo perché pensi che sia necessario per i ragazzzi sapere la vostra lingua?”* “but if their parents do not want teach [Arbëresh] to them, why do you think that young people should learn your language?”

- Subject: *“perché i ragazzi devono sapere che noi non siamo come tutti gli altri, tutto quello che abbiamo fatto... se imparano la lingua si accorgono che noi siamo diversi dagli altri...”* (“because new generations should know that we are not like all the others..., all that we did...if they learn our language, they’ll be able to understand that we are different from the others”).

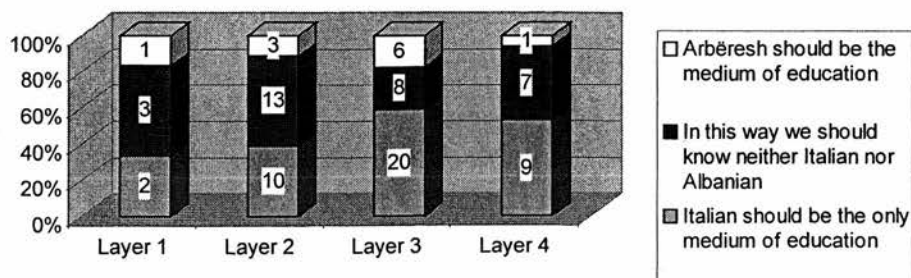
Subjects were asked to give their opinion on the introduction of standard Albanian as a medium of education, and none of the subjects want Albanian as a medium of education. The reasons they gave are summarised in the following figure:

Figure 111 U. Albanian as a medium of education: negative opinion



41 subjects expressed a negative opinion on the introduction of Albanian as an educational medium because they believe that, because they are Italians, Italian should be used as the only medium of education in all their schools. They are followed by a group made up of 31 informants who did not express a negative opinion on Albanian in itself; they believe that, if Albanian were used as an educational medium together with Italian, they would know neither of the two languages well. Finally, 11 subjects expressed a negative opinion on the introduction of Albanian, because they believe that Arbëresh, and not Albanian, should be used as an educational medium. The interaction between the reasons the subjects gave and their age is shown in the following chart:

Figure 112 U. Albanian as a medium of education: negative opinion by “age”



All the types of answers the subjects gave are present in all the layers. It is striking that the youngest subjects believe that it would be better to use Arbëresh instead of Albanian. Indeed, their belief is stronger and more widespread than that of subjects from layer 4. The following is a piece of conversation with an active speaker of layer 1:

- Investigator: *“secondo te sarebbe possibile usare l’albanese come mezzo di istruzione, cioè per spiegare la storia o la matematica...?”* (“do you think that it would be possible to use Albanian as a medium of education, that is, for teaching history, maths...?”)

- Subject: *“intendi sempre l’albanese moderno?”* (do you still mean modern Albanian?)

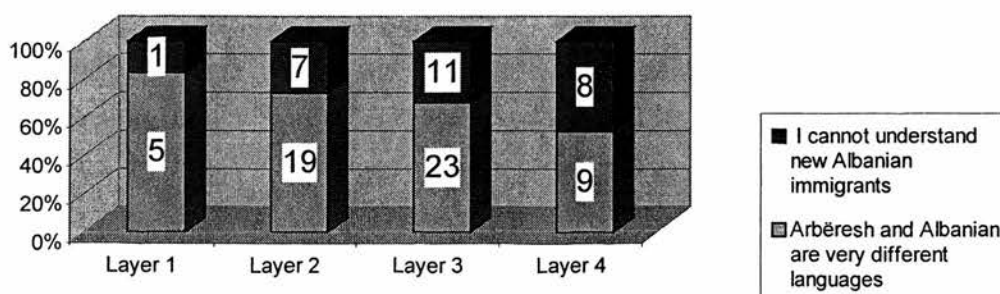
- Investigator: *“sì...”* (“yes...”)

- Subject: *“guarda, se è possibile, allora usiamo l’arbëresh e non l’albanese...”* (“look, if it is possible, then let’s use Arbëresh, not Albanian”).

III.5.3.5. Language spoken in the community

Subjects⁴ were asked to label the language spoken in their community, as Arbëresh, Albanian or both. All the subjects believe that the language spoken in their community is Arbëresh. As in Portocannone, some old speakers consider Albanian to be the language spoken in their community. However, they stress that their language is different from Albanian immigrants’ speech, which seems to be “bastardised”. Therefore, I interpreted their answer as “Arbëresh”. These are the reasons the informants gave for considering Arbëresh to be the language spoken in their community according to their age:

Figure 113 U. Arbëresh: The language of the community by “age”



The idea that Albanian is a language different from Arbëresh increases in percentage as the speakers' age decreases. This is not a justification based on linguistic analysis, but it is a way to distinguish themselves from Albanians, as is clear in the following conversation with a passive Arbëresh speaker of layer 3:

- Investigator: "*Secondo te, quale lingua riesci a capire, quindi quale lingua parlano i tuoi genitori ed altri nel paese?*" ("which language do you think you can understand, I mean, which is the language spoken by your parents and others in this village?")

- Subject: "*l'arbëresh*" ("Arbëresh")

- Investigator: "*perché l'arbëresh, non potrebbe essere l'albanese?*" ("why is it Arbëresh, mightn't it be Albanian?")

- Subject: "*no, no. L'arbëresh è molto diverso dall'albanese. Non confondiamolo con la lingua che parla la gente venuta dall'Albania. Noi siamo gente diversa da loro*" ("no, no. Arbëresh is very different from Albanian. We shouldn't confuse it with the language spoken by people from Albania. We are different from them.").

III.5.4. SUMMARY

The findings of the sociolinguistic study carried out in Ururi confirm that the degree of Arbëresh vitality is higher here than in the other villages surveyed. Indeed, the percentage of active speakers in Ururi is higher (82%) than in Portocannone (73%) and Campomarino (9%). Therefore, reflecting their geographical position, the three villages form an Arbëresh proficiency continuum, moving from the coast to an inland location to one further inland, that is from Campomarino, to Portocannone and finally Ururi. Nevertheless, as in Portocannone but to a lower degree, a gradual decline of the language can be observed. This manifests itself in another proficiency continuum, where the relation between Arbëresh speakers and their competence and use are determined by their age. Indeed, as in Portocannone, "age" seems to be the factor which mostly influences the speakers' competence and use in different domains. The other two statistically significant factors, the subjects' "level of education" and "occupation", are related to the speakers' age. Indeed, the level of education and the type of occupation decrease as the subjects' age increases. This confirms that the degree of competence and use of Arbëresh increase as the speakers' age increases.

The second part of the sociolinguistic study aimed to evaluate the speakers' attitudes towards Arbëresh and Albanian. As in Portocannone, a socio-psycholinguistic continuum can be noticed: from the old speakers' positive attitudes, to almost negative attitudes among the intervening generations, and finally to completely negative attitudes among the young speakers. This socio-linguistic continuum is clearly shown in the family trees; indeed, the speakers' positive intention of transmitting Arbëresh to their children underwent changes, already noticeable in speakers belonging to layer 3, and reaching the highest level with the youngest speakers. Moreover, the parents' self-reported intention of transmitting Arbëresh, whether positive or negative, and their general attitudes towards the language did influence their children's proficiency in Arbëresh, along with their attitudes towards the language.

Bilinguals' satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh, together with monolinguals' desire of learning it are a telling measure of the community's attitudes towards Arbëresh. Indeed, on the one hand, none of the subjects from layers 1 and 2 expressed satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh, whereas the bilinguals' degree of satisfaction increases moving from layer 3 to 4. On the other hand, none of the subjects with passive Arbëresh competence and monolinguals in Italian would like to learn it. The common reason the subjects gave, both for being dissatisfied with speaking Arbëresh and for their lack of desire of learning it, is that being heard speaking Arbëresh, they might be categorized as Albanian. This feeling is more widespread in Ururi than in Portocannone. Therefore, subjects' attitudes towards Arbëresh overlap with their attitudes towards Albanians and Albanian. They do not want to experience the risk of being taken for Albanians, since the Albanians are tainted with the stigma of crime. This is the main reason behind the common general negative attitudes towards a hypothetical introduction of standard Albanian in schools.

Section IV. Conclusion

Chapter IV.1. Molise

Arbëresh vitality in

One of the aims of the sociolinguistic study was to give a picture of Arbëresh vitality from the perspective of the subjects' degree of Arbëresh competence and use in three communities in Molise, i.e. Campomarino, Portocannone and Ururi. From the results, there emerges a clear hierarchy of Arbëresh vitality: the three villages form an Arbëresh proficiency continuum, moving from the coast to an inland location to one further inland, that is from Campomarino to Portocannone and finally Ururi. Nevertheless, the decline of Arbëresh in all three villages can be observed, even though to different degrees. To summarise the results obtained, two different trends can be distinguished, i.e.:

1. Portocannone and Ururi;
2. Campomarino.

IV.1.1. PORTOCANNONE AND URURI

In this section, firstly the data on Arbëresh vitality will be compared with those of 1966; secondly, the variables which make a significant contribution to the variation in the speakers' degree of competence will be presented; thirdly, the focus will be on the active Arbëresh speakers, presenting the variables which influence their proficiency and choice between Arbëresh and Italian. Finally there follows a discussion of the results.

IV.1.1.1. Competence in Arbëresh

IV.1.1.1.1. Comparison of the data about Arbëresh vitality

In Portocannone and Ururi, Arbëresh vitality is high: in Portocannone, 73% of the subjects have active competence in the language, and in Ururi, 82% of the subjects are active speakers of Arbëresh. Nevertheless, a gradual decline of the language can be observed; indeed there was a reduction in the percentage of speakers in both the villages in comparison to 1966. According to Rother's data, in Portocannone 90.1% of the population were full speakers of Arbëresh, whereas in Ururi 86.4% of the population

had active competence in the language. Furthermore, confirming the pilot study findings, the two villages have reversed position compared with Rother's results - whereas, in 1966, the percentage of Arbëresh speakers was higher in Portocannone than in Ururi, from the present findings, it emerges that in the latter village the language vitality is higher than in the former.

IV.1.1.1.2. Correlated variables

As discussed above, there has not been any sociolinguistic study in Molise where Arbëresh vitality is correlated to the speakers' demographic and sociolinguistic variables, therefore it is not possible to compare these findings with others. From the present results, it emerges that, for both the villages, the variables which make a statistically significant contribution to the variation in the speakers' competence degree of Arbëresh are: "age", "occupation". Concerning the variable "age", it is clear that in both the villages there is a proficiency continuum whereby the relation between the speakers and their language competence is determined by their age. In other words, the degree of competence in Arbëresh increases in relation to the speakers' age.

Considering the variable "occupation", it emerges that occupations related to agriculture, which in turn are associated with the highest age layers, are linked to the highest degree of competence. Therefore, competence in Arbëresh increases together with the decreasing of the occupational sector. Indeed, moving from sector I to sector III, the speakers' age decreases together with their proficiency in Arbëresh, to the point that students, who belong to the lowest age layers, show the lowest degree of proficiency in Arbëresh. Hence, confirming the previous result, it is clear that the speakers' proficiency in the language increases as their age increases.

Furthermore, in Ururi, too, the variable "level of education" is a significant predictor of the variation in the speakers' degree of competence: it increases as the level of education decreases. This variable is strictly related to the speakers' age: the higher the speakers' age, the lower the level of education, and the higher the degree of proficiency.

IV.1.1.2. Use of Arbëresh

IV.1.1.2.1. Arbëresh basic skills

Regarding the active speakers' proficiency in the reading and writing skills, the results obtained in the two villages - i.e., that none of the speakers are proficient in these skills at all - are a consequence of the absence of a codified Arbëresh. However, as discussed above, Arbëresh is not a *dachlos* language; indeed, its reference standard language is Albanian, a language which, since the passage of the regional and the national law for the protection of minority languages, is taught in some language courses. Some of the subjects have attended Albanian courses and, therefore, they should have at least some rudimentary proficiency in Albanian writing and reading. However, none of the subjects claimed proficiency in Albanian.

As far as the speaking skill is concerned, in both the villages the subjects' proficiency is related to three variables which make a statistically significant contribution to the variation in the speakers' competence:

- "age",
- "level of education",
- "occupation".

In this case too, the relation between the speakers and their spoken proficiency in Arbëresh is determined by their age. The significant contribution given by the other two variables confirms the previous result: the proficiency increases as the level of education and type of occupation decrease. Therefore, the highest age layers, related to the lowest levels of education and types of occupation, possess the highest proficiency in speaking.

Concerning the listening skill, both in Portocannone and in Ururi, the variables which are statistically significant predictors of the subjects' proficiency are "age" and "level of education". Moreover, in Ururi the variable "occupation" too makes a significant contribution to the variation in the listening proficiency. In other words, in the case of the listening skill, the general trend, according to which the proficiency degree increases with the speakers' age, is confirmed.

IV.1.1.2.2. Language choice: Arbëresh vs Italian

The active Arbëresh speakers' language choice - Arbëresh vs Italian - was investigated in detail. Indeed, it was analysed in the family and school domains, with friends of different ages, in topic-bound conversations, and in the case when the language is used for non-communicative purposes, i.e. when dreaming and mental counting.

The variables which make a significant contribution to the variation in the speakers' language choice within the family are:

- "age",
- "level of education",
- "occupation".

This confirms the age trend discussed above. Moreover, it emerges that the cross-generational boundaries within the family determine the speakers' language choice. Indeed, a hierarchy of the use of Arbëresh could be outlined, going from the lowest degree of use when talking to siblings, then to parents and finally to grandparents. Therefore, the use of Arbëresh increases as the addressers' and addressees' age increases, whereas the use of Italian increases as the addresser' and addressees' age decreases.

In the case of the language choice in primary school, i.e. in conversations with the teacher and schoolmates, the variable "age" explains the variation in the language use: the older the speaker, the more likely it will be that Arbëresh is the preferred language; but the younger the speaker is, the more likely he or she will be to choose Italian as the preferred language.

This is noticeable in conversations with friends of different ages too. Indeed, Italian alone is chosen in conversations with friends aged from 3 to 13, whatever the addressers' age is. As for conversations with friends aged from 14 to 70 and over, the use of Arbëresh increases as the addressers' and addressees' age increases.

Among Portocannone and Ururi Arbëresh speakers, particularly among the old ones, there is a general perception that the use of Arbëresh is declining, both in the number of domains it is used in and, particularly, among younger speakers. Old speakers

perceive the difference between their language and the speech of younger people, both as regards their lower proficiency, and regarding the “type” of language they speak. This is found by old speakers to be more “Italianised” than theirs. This can be seen in the following piece of conversation with an active Arbëresh speaker of layer 4 from Ururi:

- Investigator: “[...] *con i tuoi amici parli sempre arbëresh?*” (“do you always speak Arbëresh with your friends?”)

- Subject: “*quando sono con loro, sì*” (“I do when I am with them, yes”)

- Investigator: “*vedo che la parrocchia è frequentata anche da molti ragazzi. Non parli arbëresh con loro?*” (“I can see that a lot of boys and girls come to this church. Don’t you speak Arbëresh with them?”)

- Subject: “*ma.... non molto... pochi lo sanno parlare... sono giovani...*” (“well... not very much... few of them can speak it... they are young...”)

- Investigator: “*quindi pensi che solo pochi ragazzi conoscono l’arbëresh?*” (“so, you think that few young people know Arbëresh?”)

- Subject: “*sì solo pochi, visto solo se la mamma, il padre lo parlano... ma poi anche se sanno dire qualcosa lo dicono in modo diverso...*” (yes, only a few ... you see, just if their mother, their father speak it to them... but then even if they can say something they say it in a different way...”)

- Investigator: “*diverso, e da chi?*” (“different, and from whom?”)

- Subject: “*da noi! Loro pure se dicono poche cose, le dicono sì, ma sembra che parlano italiano*” (“from us! Even though they can speak a little, it seems they are speaking in Italian”)

- Investigator: “*che fanno parlano un misto tra italiano e arbëresh?*” (“what do they do, speak a mixture between Italian and Arbëresh?”)

- Subject: “*no non è un misto... è ... come se usassero parole che sembrano Italiane, è una lingua più italiana....[...]*” “no, it is not a mixture ... it is ... as if they used words that seem Italian, it is a more Italian language... [...]”

As far as the topic-bound conversations are concerned, in the case of conversations in daily life, agriculture, and sport, the language choice is determined by the speakers’ age: the use of Arbëresh increases as the speakers’ age increases and the

use of Italian increases as the speakers' age decreases. However, it is worth pointing out that as the conversations become more specialised, Arbëresh is commonly used less than Italian. Therefore, there is a continuum in the use of Arbëresh, which goes from the highest degree in the case of conversations in daily life, to agriculture and finally to sport. Language choice was investigated in the case of conversations about economics and politics too, but all the subjects use Italian alone for such topics. According to several subjects, this is because Arbëresh does not possess a wide vocabulary, particularly of specialised words. This is a piece of conversation with a subject of layer 2 from Portocannone:

- Investigator: “[...] *mi hai detto che parli spesso arbëresh con i tuoi amici, vero?*” (“you said that you often speak Arbëresh with your friends, correct?”)

- Subject: “*sì*” (“yes”)

- Investigator: “*ma mi hai detto che non parli arbëresh quando parli di sport...*” (“but you said that you don’t speak Arbëresh when you are talking about sport...”)

- Subject: “*sì è vero...*” (“yes, it’s true...”)

- Investigator: “*e perché?*” (“and why?”)

- Subject: “*vedi in arbëresh non si può parlare di tutto...mancano le parole...*” (look, you can’t talk of everything in Arbëresh... there are not all the words...”)

This result contrasts with what Dorian (1981: 112) found in her fieldwork, since her subjects could use either English or Sutherland East Gaelic in conversations about any topic.

IV.1.2. CAMPOMARINO

As in the case of Portocannone and Ururi, the data about Arbëresh vitality will be compared with Rother’s. It is clear from the results that the degree of Arbëresh vitality in Campomarino is very low, and the very few active speakers of Arbëresh do not present any variation in the language choice, given that Italian is the only language choice even for active speakers.

IV.1.2.1. Competence in Arbëresh

IV.1.2.1.1. Comparison of the data about Arbëresh vitality

Confirming the pilot study results, the situation which is shown by the Campomarino survey is even more dramatic than what Rother found in 1966: only 9% of the subjects are active speakers of Arbëresh in comparison to 54.8% found in 1966. Moreover, the few active Arbëresh speakers are more than seventy years old, making the future prospects for the language in this community appear even worse.

Chapter IV.2.

Attitudes

This chapter deals with the three communities' attitudes towards Arbëresh and Albanian, trying to understand the impact the subjects' attitudes have on their identity.

In order to summarise the findings, two different sets of attitudes will be considered:

1. Portocannone and Ururi;
2. Campomarino

IV.2.1. PORTOCANNONE AND URURI

IV.2.1.1. Attitudes towards Arbëresh

In Portocannone and Ururi the whole set of speakers' attitudes towards Arbëresh can be defined as a socio-psycholinguistic continuum: from the old speakers' ambivalent attitudes, to almost negative ones among the generations between, to completely negative attitudes among the young speakers. This confirms exactly what Tsitsipis found in his fieldwork (1983b: 293-294). The old speakers' ambivalent attitudes shows a contrast between the binding or solidarity function which Arbëresh performs among the subjects of their own generation, and the idea that children should not be taught Arbëresh. Therefore, in their eyes, on the one hand, the language still operates as a medium of inter-generational communication, and on the other, new generations should learn languages which are useful in getting a good job, such as English, instead of Arbëresh. This feature was recorded by Tsitsipis, who defined these ambivalent attitudes as "schizophrenic" (Tsitsipis 1981: 137)

Furthermore, among the older speakers, that is those belonging to the last two age layers, a change in the role of Arbëresh may be noticed: subjects from layer 3 expressed satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh, because it is their ancestors' language, whereas subjects from layer 4 are satisfied with speaking Arbëresh, because most of

their friends speak it. In other words, while the language was once perceived as an identity symbol, it is now perceived as a simple functional tool.

Although the old speakers state the uselessness of transmitting Arbëresh to the new generations, the majority of their children are proficient in Arbëresh. This means that the shift in attitudes towards Arbëresh transmission came about after their children had actually learned the language. Indeed, both in Portocannone and Ururi, old speakers intended to transmit the language to their off-spring, and the result was that their children did learn Arbëresh. As shown in the family trees, the shift in the attitudes towards Arbëresh can be observed in the speakers belonging to the intervening generations. Their almost generally negative attitudes are partly expressed by their intention of not transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation. The result was that the majority of their children do not possess full competence in Arbëresh, and although some of them are active speakers, they show deeply rooted negative attitudes towards it. Indeed, none of the speakers belonging to the youngest age layers expressed intention of transmitting Arbëresh in the future. In other words, it is possible to state that the parents' decision to transmit or not to transmit the language to the next generation has a real influence on their children's competence. Therefore, the vitality of Arbëresh might depend on the parents' decision to suppress a part of their culture in the process of onward transmission.

Moreover, if the Arbëresh vitality in the two villages depends on the parents' intention of transmitting the language, future Arbëresh vitality, too, will depend on whether the subjects of layer 1 wish to transmit the language in the future. As discussed above, none of the active speakers of age layer 1 expressed intention of transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation; therefore, in the light of these findings, it is possible to predict that Arbëresh will die out within at most two generations.

IV.2.1.2. Attitudes towards Arbëresh of other communities

A common perception emerges from both the Portocannone and Ururi Arbëresh speakers as regards the different language spoken by other communities. Indeed, most of the subjects believe that other Arbëresh communities members use a different variety of Arbëresh, regardless of actual geographical distances or of objective dissimilarities in the varieties. The speakers measured this difference in terms of "depth" and/or "hardness", even though they are not able to say what this "depth" and

“hardness” consist of, as shown in the following piece of conversation with a subject of layer 3 from Portocannone:

- Investigator: “[...] *la differenza nel tipo di lingua che parlano i giovani, pensi che esista solo qui a Portocannone, o anche a Ururi?*” (“[...] this difference in the type of language the young speak, is it only a feature of Portocannone, or of Ururi too?”)

- Subject: “No... *non è così... non è che noi vecchi a Portocannon e Ururi parliamo la stessa lingua.... cioè sì è la stessa, ma come ti devo dire... è come se tutti parlassero in modo diverso....*” (“no... it’s not like that.... it’s not that we old folks in Portocannone and Ururi speak the same language ... I mean, yes, it’s the same, but... how can I put it ... it is as if all of them talked differently”)

- Investigator: “*ah... non pensavo, ma che intendi... non riesci a capire gli Ururesi?*” (“ah... I didn’t expect that. But what do you mean ... can’t you understand people from Ururi?”)

- Subject: “*no.. non è che non li capisco ... li capisco, ma si sente che loro parlano un dialetto come dire più... più ... duro!*” (“no... it’s not that I don’t understand them... I do understand them, but it feels as though they speak a dialect ... how can I put it ... more...more... harder”)

- Investigator: “*più duro...???*” (“harder...???”)

- Subject: “*eh... è più forte del nostro, ma in generale.. [...]*” (“eh... it is harder than ours ... but in general...[...]”)

It can be defined as a gradient perception: the Arbëresh variety will be deeper and deeper, or harder and harder, moving from the variety spoken in their community to those of other Arbëresh villages in Italy. To give an example, a Portocannone speaker finds the variety spoken in Ururi to be deeper than his, but the variety spoken in Piana degli Albanesi in Sicilia is even deeper and stronger than Arbëresh spoken in Molise. This pattern was found by Tsitsipis too (1983b: 293) in his fieldwork on Arvanítika.

IV.2.1.3. Attitudes towards Albanians and Albanian

A shift from positive to negative attitudes towards Arbëresh was outlined in the discussion above. As was shown, the negative attitudes are to be found mostly in the subjects’ intention of not transmitting Arbëresh to the next generation. Furthermore,

active Arbëresh speakers were asked about their satisfaction with speaking it, but both in Portocannone and in Ururi, none of the subjects from the first two age layers expressed satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh. This idea is shared by the majority of subjects from layer 3 too. Finally, the percentage of the subjects who expressed satisfaction with speaking Arbëresh increases as we move up to layer 4. Therefore, from their answers, which are a telling measure of future Arbëresh vitality, it emerges that the shift in the attitudes is to be found in the recent past, and it seems to be mainly linked to a particular historical event

IV.2.1.3.1. The modern Albanian migration wave

Albania has experienced emigration throughout all its history and it is currently one of the countries in the world with the highest migratory rate. Among the reasons for such a deeply rooted emigration propensity are political events, economic and social issues, regional conflicts and wars that the country has endured. The arrival of the communist dictatorship pushed about 19.000 people out of the country borders. Many of these emigrants were political opponents to the new regime. By the end of 1990, in anticipation of radical political change, Albanians rebelled against the restrictive legislation on expatriation imposed by the regime. Thousands applied to the foreign embassies in Tirana in order to leave and a large share of the expatriates received political asylum in Western European countries. By March 1991, around 25,000 had abandoned their country. This was the start of a massive migratory process that in ten years affected 500,000-600,000 persons (about 15% of the population).

From the beginning, Italy and Greece stood out as privileged destinations, but the areas of origin for emigration to the two countries were different. Emigration to Italy came mostly from the central region of the country, while emigration to Greece had its main source in the Southern border region, inhabited by a significant minority of Orthodox Greeks. In March 1991 Italy accepted a first group of 23,000 Albanian migrants; in August another group of 20,000 people was treated in the opposite way and repatriated without exceptions. The uncontrolled character of migration and the unpreparedness of the Italian authorities to receive and host such a huge exodus generated political tensions between Italy and Albania. The critical peak took place at the beginning of 1997 as a consequence of the breakdown of the pyramid schemes in Albania. The schemes, which were unregulated, had emerged as alternatives to the

underdeveloped banking sector. They grew rapidly in 1996 by offering 15-100% interest on three months deposits. Many people invested all their savings in the schemes and also sold their homes to raise further cash to invest. When the system collapsed, riots and general unrest exploded. The consequences of the crisis affected at least one third of the Albanian population. Migratory outflows were renewed. Between December 1996 and April 1997 some 30,000 migrants landed in Italy, but the majority of them were repatriated. Moreover, while the unauthorized migratory flows of 1991-1992 were the result of extraordinary individual or collective initiatives, in the following years “professional” organizations offering transport services for clandestine migration were set up.

These are official data¹ on Albanian migration to Italy from the beginning of the modern migration to the end of 2002:

Table 70 Official data about Albanian migrants present in Italy

1990	2,034
1991	26,381
1992	28,628
1993	30,847
1994	31,926
1995	34,706
1996	63,967
1997	83,807
1998	91,537
1999	115,755
2000	142,066
2001	144,120
2002	168,963

As a result, they are the second largest immigrant group in Italy after Moroccans. The Albanian immigrants initially found widespread support from Italians. By July 1990, when the first opponents to the communist regime started to leave Albania, the press stressed the hospitality offered by some Italian mayors, evoking the ancient links between Italians and Albanians. Since then, several “new” Albanians have entered Italy and settled mostly in the “historical” Arbëresh enclaves. However, the Italian people’s

warm reception of Albanian refugees has gradually changed since March 1991 when the flow of Albanian emigrants started to intensify. As of that period the Albanians started to be portrayed as criminals, and the refugees to be treated as clandestine migrants. The arrival of Albanians was described as an emergency, an invasion, finally as a threatening exodus. The Albanians' difficult position at the margins of economic activity has produced an impression among the majority of Italians - supported by the mass media - that they are involved in criminal activities. During the last ten years, and in particular after the 1991 and 1997 migratory waves, Albanians have received large coverage in the representation of the Italian media and their image has largely been associated with criminality and moral decay: The atmosphere of widespread panic generated in 1991 was recreated in 1997. Once again Albanians were described as criminals and "invaders". Newspaper headlines concerning the arrival of Albanians after the sinking of the Albanian boat on 19th of March 1997 included the following²: "It is a civil war. Flight from Albania, Italian coasts are stormed" (*l'Unità*, 14-5), "Apulian Mafia enlists the refugees" (*Il Giornale*, 15-5); "Italy is invaded by a fleeing people" (*La Repubblica*, 15-5); "Refugees emergency. Now it is an exodus. Also a boat full of children arrives. Thousands are landing" (*La Repubblica*, 16-5); "Vigna: greatest attention against the risk of a criminal invasion" (*Corriere della Sera*, 18-5); "A stream of refugees. Quota 9000 reached. It is an emergency" (*l'Unità*, 18-5); "Refugees and criminal bands" (*Il Messaggero*, 19-5); "Refugees, criminality alarm" (*La Stampa*, 19-5); "Albanian criminals alarm" (*Il Gazzettino di Venezia*, 19-5); "Vigna to Del Turco: yes, criminality infiltrated" (*Corriere della Sera*, 24-5); "Naval blockade in order to stop Albanians. Strong response is being pursued. They must be rejected because they are clandestine immigrants" (*La Repubblica*, 25-5); "A boat with Albanians overturns. The boat was dragged by the Italian navy towards the Apulian coasts" (*l'Unità*, 29-5).

In conclusion, Italian prejudice towards Albanians has grown to the point that seeking association with Albanian and Albanians has become less attractive for Italians and above all for the Arbëresh people.

Albanian migratory waves have affected Arbëresh villages in Molise too. According to official data, Albanian people legally resident in Molise in 2000 numbered 677. The following table shows their distribution in the three villages surveyed:

Table 71 Albanian migrants present in Campomarino, Portocannone and Ururi

Campomarino	123
Portocannone	62
Ururi	82

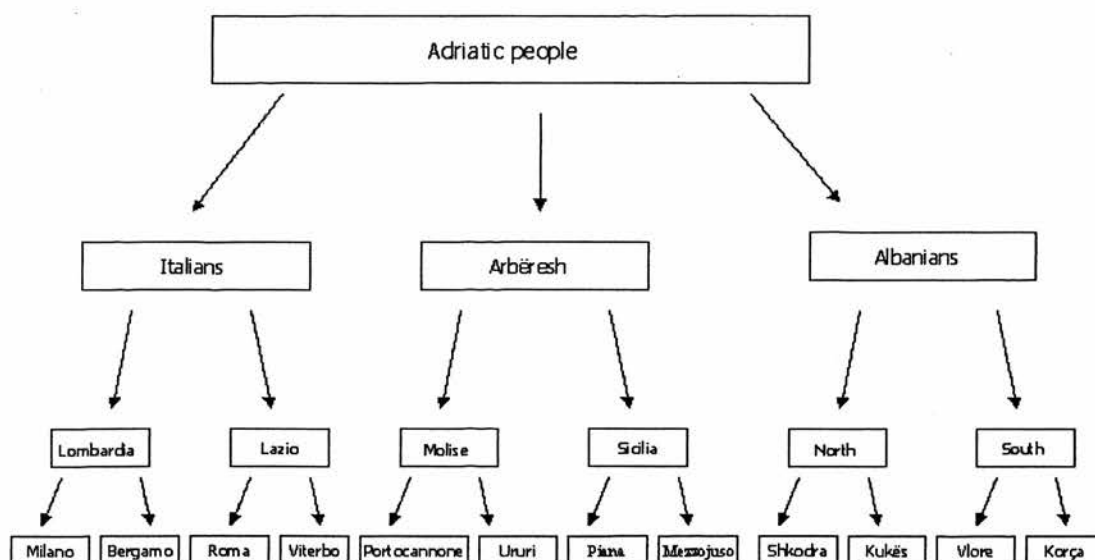
IV.2.1.4. Impact on their identity

Albanian migratory waves have affected Arbëresh villages in Molise too. Here, the community's attitudes towards people who are experiencing the same problems their ancestors have fluctuated in tandem with general Italian public opinion. Indeed, the positive attitudes of the Arbëresh towards Albanians has changed, with the result that the Arbëresh community have tried to distinguish themselves from the "new" Albanians because of their stigmatised status throughout Italy.

The contrast between Arbëresh communities in Molise vs other Arbëresh communities in Italy vs Italians and vs Albanians might be explained in the light of "Self-categorization" theory. As discussed above, according to the meta-contrast principle, a set of items is categorized as a single entity "to the degree that differences within that set of items are less than the differences between that set and others within the comparative context" (Oakes, Haslam and Turner 1994: 96). Since categorization is a dynamic, context-dependent process, determined by comparative relations within a given context, categorization is not universal: people who are perceived as different in one context could be recategorized and perceived as similar in another context, without any real change in their positions. It is a cognitive grouping process that transforms differences into similarities and the other way round (Oakes, Haslam and Turner 1994: 95-96). Therefore, applying the meta-contrast principle the relative prototypicality of members within a group would be defined, explaining why salient contrast may vary between Arbëresh people, Italians and Albanians. To give an example, an old speaker from Portocannone categorizes the new generations in terms of the differences between their speech and his. Then, comparing the variety spoken in his village with that of Ururi, the previous differences disappear, and the Portocannone community will contrast as a whole with the Ururi village. In terms of the differences in language, the Portocannone community will find the language in Ururi to be different from the variety spoken in their community. However, when comparing the Arbëresh people in

Molise with those of Sicilia, the differences disappear and another contrast will emerge. The same happens comparing the whole of Arbëresh speech communities in Italy with Italians and Albanians: Arbëresh, who were perceived as dissimilar in the previous context have been recategorized, even though no real change has happened, to become the expression of a compact group, in contrast to the whole group of Italians and that of Albanians. This can be seen in the figure below depicting a hierarchical categorization of Adriatic people:

Figure 114 A hierarchical categorization of Adriatic people



The difference between Arbëresh and Albanian is not generally known throughout Italy, and the easiest association between Arbëresh people and new Albanians is linked to the language. As a result, Italians' negative perceptions of Albanian immigrants have caused changes in Arbëresh speakers' attitudes towards the use of their language both in Portocannone and in Ururi. This is testified to by the speakers' recurrent comment "*quando gli altri Italiani ti sentono parlare arbëresh pensano che tu sia un immigrato albanese*" ("when other Italians hear you speaking Arbëresh they might think you are an Albanian immigrant"). Therefore, one way to distinguish themselves from Albanians is by not speaking Arbëresh. This means that their original language is no longer considered as a core value of their culture (Smolicz 1986), losing in this way its role in maintaining their distinctive identity. According to Smolicz, the maintenance of the core values depends on the prestige one's own group's culture has in the

dominant culture, and the lack of prestige of Albanian was the cause of the loss of this core value.

Moreover, it is possible to understand their language choice when speaking to me, in the light of their “fear” of being taken for Albanians by Italians. Indeed, at the beginning of my fieldwork, notwithstanding my efforts to become their friend, I thought they still considered me to be an “outsider”, because all of them spoke only Italian to me, without using Arbëresh at all, and giving no justification for this choice. Since my Arbëresh was not good, I decided to ask an Arbëresh speaker to help me with the language, if the subjects decided to speak Arbëresh during the interview. I was sure that with the presence of a member of their community they could feel more comfortable with speaking Arbëresh, but nevertheless they would never speak it when I was present, that is when a member of the Italian community was present.

Furthermore, it is worth remembering that all the subjects from layer 4 both in Portocannone and in Ururi labelled the language they speak as “Albanian”, but felt the necessity of renegotiating their answer, adding that their speech is the “real” Albanian, in contrast to the Albanian of the new immigrants, which often was considered “bastardized”. This is symptomatic of the fact that the symbol of their identity, the language, has undergone deep changes.

In other words, there has been a passage from a strong dichotomy between the in-group, the Arbëresh community, and the out-group, Italians, a dichotomy which previously guaranteed Arbëresh language maintenance, to a situation where the in-group boundaries are perceived by Arbëresh people as soft and permeable. This is because the “new” Albanians have tried to get into the in-group. According to Social Identity theory, a negative social identity will act as a motivating factor for social change, in order to bring about a more satisfactory social identity. Applying this concept to Arbëresh people, in order to achieve a more positive in-group distinctiveness, they will adopt a strategy of “individual mobility”. This is when members of the in-group wish to pass out of the group which is causing them so much comparative discomfort into a more positively valued one, in this case the dominant Italian ethnic community. This strategy has important linguistic correlates (Giles & Johnson 1981: 219-220), as language is prominent among the characteristics of the dominant group which Arbëresh people will attempt to acquire and thereby secure for themselves a more adequate social

identity. With the former in-group members trying to assimilate to the former out-group, the danger is that the collective consequences may end up being the death of the original in-group language, Arbëresh, arguably a case of “language suicide” (Denison 1977: 21).

The process which has been taking place might not see a reversal in the near future, because the stigma attached to Albanians is too strong and so are the negative prejudices towards them. Even though the migratory wave had seemed to be fading away, it saw a massive increase at the end of 2003, with the result that Italians’ negative attitudes towards Albanians have been even more strongly reinforced, due to the common general perception of Albanians as criminals and people “robbing” the very few job opportunities Italy offers.

IV.2.2. CAMPOMARINO

IV.2.2.1. Attitudes towards Arbëresh

The low degree of Arbëresh vitality in Campomarino is directly proportional to the strong negative attitudes its members have towards the language. Indeed, the second half of the last century saw a complete shift from a historical Arbëresh community to a standard Italian village, and the main reason is to be found in its geographical position: the coast, which favours tourist activities, is the frontline of several migration waves from the inland of the region and from other Southern regions. This has caused a demographic explosion, which has been going on since the later decades of the 20th century, creating a territory where Arbëresh people constitute a very low percentage of the whole population. The assimilation to the rest of the population of the town was natural. However, the result was the emergence of very strong negative attitudes towards Arbëresh. Indeed, the Campomarino population, aware of the general Italian perception of Campomarino as a historical Arbëresh enclave, has tried to lose this label and be perceived as simply Italians. This came through in the answers the subjects gave about the language spoken in the community. Having the possibility of choosing between Arbëresh, Albanian, or both of them, all the subjects answered that the language spoken in their community is neither Arbëresh or Albanian, but only Italian.

IV.2.2.2. Attitudes towards Albanians and Albanian

If in the case of Portocannone and Ururi the Albanian stigma has produced changes in their attitudes towards the use of both Arbëresh and Albanian, in Campomarino the stigma attached to Albanians has reinforced the already negative attitudes towards Arbëresh. Campomarino is divided into two areas: the upper part, *Campomarino Paese*, inhabited by the village residents, and the lower part, *Campomarino Lido*, which is on the sea side, and is populated only during the summer period by holiday-makers. The new Albanians who arrived in Campomarino have to live in *Campomarino Lido*, even during the winter, when the place is not populated at all. Therefore, even territorially speaking, Campomarino residents have distinguished themselves from new Albanians, and their strong negative attitudes towards Albanians are a further way to make a strong claim to their Italian identity.

Chapter IV.3. Language death and shift reversal

This chapter deals with the kinds of efforts which might be undertaken in order to revitalize Arbëresh in Molise. The aim is to evaluate if the forms of protection the law 482/1999 provides might be used in the light of the results of the sociolinguistic analysis carried in Molise. Two kinds of efforts might be undertaken, depending on the place:

1. Portocannone and Ururi;
2. Campomarino.

In the final section, a discussion about the validity of models of language death will follow.

IV.3.1. PORTOCANNONE AND URURI

IV.3.1.1. Language policy

Several scholars have argued that a law about the protection and maintenance of minority languages would result in the spread of social bilingualism, seen as the only tool to save minorities language and culture¹. Theoretically, this was achieved by the passing of the law 482/1999. As discussed above, according to the law, the language and culture of the recognised minority communities are protected: their language can be used, as much as the Italian official language, as a medium and/or object of education, by City Council officers, in official documents, in toponomy, in onomastics, and by the media. According to the law, it is standard Albanian which is to be used in schools and in formal domains of the Arbëresh communities. Nevertheless, on the basis of the above discussion, the introduction of Albanian could not function as a tool to maintain and revitalize the endangered language. Indeed, the new situation among the Arbëresh communities and Albanians and the resulting Arbëresh speech community's negative attitudes towards both Albanian and Arbëresh interfere and prevent most of the forms of protection based upon the law.

The form of Arbëresh maintenance which more than others seems to affect Arbëresh community life is the introduction of Albanian in schools. As an object of education, Albanian is not generally welcomed by the Portocannone and Ururi communities, and none of the subjects from the two communities want Albanian as a medium of education. The main problem is not in the variety to be used, i.e. standard vs local variety, therefore it is not a problem concerning the conflicts between political and economical factors vs identity factors², but the core of the problem is in the speech community itself. The Portocannone and Ururi populations will have less motivation or none at all, to work to maintain Arbëresh, if they feel their language associates them with a community which is the object of a strong negative stigma. Wright, analysing the vitality of Arbëresh in Piana degli Albanesi, pointed out the same obstacle “which need[s] to be overcome if the language is to survive in the long term” (Wright 2004: 240).

IV.3.2. CAMPOMARINO

IV.3.2.1. Language policy

According to the national law, Campomarino is recognised as a historical Albanian community, therefore national funds for the application of the forms of maintenance are provided. Of course, this contrasts with the findings about their attitudes towards Arbëresh and Albanian. Indeed, the only conceivable possibility is the introduction of Albanian as a school subject, and even that seems to be unachievable, Albanian would definitely not be acceptable as a medium of education.

Clearly, the situation is so dramatic and irreparable that no form of maintenance would be likely to produce any “positive” shift.

IV.3.3. TOP-DOWN VS BOTTOM-UP STRATEGIES

Ellis & Mac a’Ghobhainm’s words “a language cannot be saved by [...] getting ‘official status’ for it, or getting it taught in schools” (1971: 128), and Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer’s “language reversal can’t be done to you or for you by others” (1998: 96) are appropriate for the final considerations. In the light of the Portocannone and Ururi

findings, it is possible to state that language survival cannot depend on legislation as its main support, since all these actions fall short of what is required in practical terms, if a language is to survive in spoken everyday use. Furthermore, too much attention to official policy statements can be counterproductive in the absence of other, 'grass-roots' activities. Therefore, although control over the language of the government, education and workplace may be ultimate goals of language maintenance efforts, they should not be the first priorities. If there is not the community's willingness to maintain the language, top-down strategies by themselves do not have any reasonable chances of success. As discussed in section II, in line with Fishman's ideas, my claim is that where there is a collective willingness to restore vigour to the language, a bottom-up approach should be applied, focusing on two levels: the family and the community. Only by concentrating efforts on the home front will transmission and hence long-term maintenance have a reasonable chance of success and continuation. Subsequently, where there are positive results from bottom-up strategies, State intervention, with top-down forms of maintenance, will be necessary to achieve long-standing results. However, on the basis of these findings, it is unlikely that the Arbëresh speech community will work to maintain a language which associates them with a population that is the source of a strong negative stigma. The only thing which might be done is to work on the Arbëresh speech community's attitudes by giving them information about a number of groups in Europe who have been influenced by new attitudes to pluralism and have changed their language behaviour to a greater or lesser extent. The Arbëresh have changed it in the opposite direction. However, it should be remembered that perceptions of status and prestige of the language are key factors to intergenerational transmission and language loyalty. How could Arbëresh obtain a higher status with wide-spread prejudice towards Albanian?

IV.3.4. FINAL DISCUSSION

As discussed above, although enough scholarship has been put forward for models which assess the likelihood of language decline/death with some accuracy to be conceivable, so complex is the interplay of factors that it might ultimately prove impossible to predict the fate of individual languages. Models of language decline/death should aim to do what they realistically can do, which is to provide descriptive and not

explanatory adequacy, in other words they should be used as a tool for describing situations of complexity. As these findings have shown, it is possible to isolate the factors which might make predictable the disappearance of the family language, i.e. age, education and occupation, confirming previous studies according to which language maintenance is associated with elderly, rural areas, and primary sector employment. Nonetheless, many unpredictable variables could affect the speakers' attitudes towards a language and, in the final analysis, the language vitality itself. In fact the shift to the national language seems even more disorienting considering that the Arbëresh communities have maintained a deep sense of distinctive identity and were extremely resistant to the construction of Italian national identity following political unification in 1861. Even though Italian was increasingly becoming their primary language, they remained bilingual. Then after resisting a full language shift against all expectations, the Arbëresh speech community started undergoing a drastic passage to the higher prestige Italian language following the influx of new immigrants. In other words, Arbëresh speech community has asserted an ethnic distinction based on the dichotomy between "old Albanians" and "new Albanians", and when their Albanianness became unstable they claimed Italianness, that is their Italian national identity. In the older situation knowing Italian provided a certain kind of urban-oriented cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) which could be "cashed in" by taking a job in the city, thus providing social mobility; and this was balanced by a different kind of local cultural capital which came from knowing the Arbëresh language, and which ensured individual's link to the place of origins. This "economy" of language-capital was altered by the arrival of the new Albanians, whose language forced a shift in favour of the Italian language.

These unpredictable elements, showing the link between prestige and language maintenance, were the cause of the Arbëresh communities' counter tendencies to the trend of revitalization which has swept Europe, and are a further proof of the fact that language maintenance cannot be imposed by state support.

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Appendix 1

Art. 1

1. La lingua ufficiale della Repubblica è l'italiano.

2. La Repubblica, che valorizza il patrimonio linguistico e culturale della lingua italiana, promuove altresì la valorizzazione delle lingue e delle culture tutelate dalla presente legge.

Art. 2

1. In attuazione dell'articolo 6 della Costituzione e in armonia con i principi generali stabiliti dagli organismi europei e internazionali, la Repubblica tutela la lingua e la cultura delle popolazioni albanesi, catalane, germaniche, greche, slovene e croate e di quelle parlanti il francese, il franco-provenzale, il friulano, il ladino, l'occitano e il sardo.

Art. 3

1. La delimitazione dell'ambito territoriale e subcomunale in cui si applicano le disposizioni di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche previste dalla presente legge è adottata dal consiglio provinciale, sentiti i comuni interessati, su richiesta di almeno il quindici per cento dei cittadini iscritti nelle liste elettorali e residenti nei comuni stessi, ovvero di un terzo dei consiglieri comunali dei medesimi comuni.

2. Nel caso in cui non sussista alcuna delle due condizioni di cui al comma 1 e qualora sul territorio comunale insista comunque una minoranza linguistica ricompresa nell'elenco di cui all'articolo 2, il procedimento inizia qualora si pronunci favorevolmente la popolazione residente, attraverso apposita consultazione promossa dai soggetti aventi titolo e con le modalità previste dai rispettivi statuti e regolamenti comunali.

3. Quando le minoranze linguistiche di cui all'articolo 2 si trovano distribuite su territori provinciali o regionali diversi, esse possono costituire organismi di coordinamento e di proposta, che gli enti locali interessati hanno facoltà di riconoscere.

Art. 4

1. Nelle scuole materne dei comuni di cui all'articolo 3, l'educazione linguistica prevede, accanto all'uso della lingua italiana, anche l'uso della lingua della minoranza per

lo svolgimento delle attività educative. Nelle scuole elementari e nelle scuole secondarie di primo grado è previsto l'uso anche della lingua della minoranza come strumento di insegnamento.

2. Le istituzioni scolastiche elementari e secondarie di primo grado, in conformità a quanto previsto dall'articolo 3, comma 1, della presente legge, nell'esercizio dell'autonomia organizzativa e didattica di cui all'articolo 21, commi 8 e 9, della legge 15 marzo 1997, n. 59, nei limiti dell'orario curricolare complessivo definito a livello nazionale e nel rispetto dei complessivi obblighi di servizio dei docenti previsti dai contratti collettivi, al fine di assicurare l'apprendimento della lingua della minoranza, deliberano, anche sulla base delle richieste dei genitori degli alunni, le modalità di svolgimento delle attività di insegnamento della lingua e delle tradizioni culturali delle comunità locali, stabilendone i tempi e le metodologie, nonché stabilendo i criteri di valutazione degli alunni e le modalità di impiego di docenti qualificati.

3. Le medesime istituzioni scolastiche di cui al comma 2, ai sensi dell'articolo 21, comma 10, della legge 15 marzo 1997, n. 59, sia singolarmente sia in forma associata, possono realizzare ampliamenti dell'offerta formativa in favore degli adulti. Nell'esercizio dell'autonomia di ricerca, sperimentazione e sviluppo, di cui al citato articolo 21, comma 10, le istituzioni scolastiche adottano, anche attraverso forme associate, iniziative nel campo dello studio delle lingue e delle tradizioni culturali degli appartenenti ad una minoranza linguistica riconosciuta ai sensi degli articoli 2 e 3 della presente legge e perseguono attività di formazione e aggiornamento degli insegnanti addetti alle medesime discipline. A tale scopo le istituzioni scolastiche possono stipulare convenzioni ai sensi dell'articolo 21, comma 12, della citata legge n. 59 del 1997.

4. Le iniziative previste dai commi 2 e 3 sono realizzate dalle medesime istituzioni scolastiche avvalendosi delle risorse umane a disposizione, della dotazione finanziaria attribuita ai sensi dell'articolo 21, comma 5, della legge 15 marzo 1997, n. 59, nonché delle risorse aggiuntive reperibili con convenzioni, prevedendo tra le priorità stabilite dal medesimo comma 5 quelle di cui alla presente legge. Nella ripartizione delle risorse di cui al citato comma 5 dell'articolo 21 della legge n. 59 del 1997, si tiene conto delle priorità aggiuntive di cui al presente comma.

5. Al momento della preiscrizione i genitori comunicano alla istituzione scolastica interessata se intendono avvalersi per i propri figli dell'insegnamento della lingua della minoranza.

Art. 5

1. Il Ministro della pubblica istruzione, con propri decreti, indica i criteri generali per l'attuazione delle misure contenute nell'articolo 4 e può promuovere e realizzare progetti nazionali e locali nel campo dello studio delle lingue e delle tradizioni culturali degli appartenenti ad una minoranza linguistica riconosciuta ai sensi degli articoli 2 e 3 della presente legge. Per la realizzazione dei progetti è autorizzata la spesa di lire 2 miliardi annue a decorrere dall'anno 1999.

2. Gli schemi di decreto di cui al comma 1 sono trasmessi al Parlamento per l'acquisizione del parere delle competenti Commissioni permanenti, che possono esprimersi entro sessanta giorni.

Art. 6

1. Ai sensi degli articoli 6 e 8 della legge 19 novembre 1990, n. 341, le università delle regioni interessate, nell'ambito della loro autonomia e degli ordinari stanziamenti di bilancio, assumono ogni iniziativa, ivi compresa l'istituzione di corsi di lingua e cultura delle lingue di cui all'articolo 2, finalizzata ad agevolare la ricerca scientifica e le attività culturali e formative a sostegno delle finalità della presente legge.

Art. 7

1. Nei comuni di cui all'articolo 3, i membri dei consigli comunali e degli altri organi a struttura collegiale dell'amministrazione possono usare, nell'attività degli organismi medesimi, la lingua ammessa a tutela.

2. La disposizione di cui al comma 1 si applica altresì ai consiglieri delle comunità montane, delle province e delle regioni, i cui territori ricomprendano comuni nei quali è riconosciuta la lingua ammessa a tutela, che complessivamente costituiscano almeno il 15 per cento della popolazione interessata.

3. Qualora uno o più componenti degli organi collegiali di cui ai commi 1 e 2 dichiarino di non conoscere la lingua ammessa a tutela, deve essere garantita una immediata traduzione in lingua italiana.

4. Qualora gli atti destinati ad uso pubblico siano redatti nelle due lingue, producono effetti giuridici solo gli atti e le deliberazioni redatti in lingua italiana.

Art. 8

1. Nei comuni di cui all'articolo 3, il consiglio comunale può provvedere, con oneri a carico del bilancio del comune stesso, in mancanza di altre risorse disponibili a questo fine, alla pubblicazione nella lingua ammessa a tutela di atti ufficiali dello Stato, delle regioni e degli enti locali nonché di enti pubblici non territoriali, fermo restando il valore legale esclusivo degli atti nel testo redatto in lingua italiana.

Art. 9

1. Fatto salvo quanto previsto dall'articolo 7, nei comuni di cui all'articolo 3 è consentito, negli uffici delle amministrazioni pubbliche, l'uso orale e scritto della lingua ammessa a tutela. Dall'applicazione del presente comma sono escluse le forze armate e le forze di polizia dello Stato.

2. Per rendere effettivo l'esercizio delle facoltà di cui al comma 1, le pubbliche amministrazioni provvedono, anche attraverso convenzioni con altri enti, a garantire la presenza di personale che sia in grado di rispondere alle richieste del pubblico usando la lingua ammessa a tutela. A tal fine è istituito, presso la Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri - Dipartimento per gli affari regionali, un Fondo nazionale per la tutela delle minoranze linguistiche con una dotazione finanziaria annua di lire 9.800.000.000 a decorrere dal 1999. Tali risorse, da considerare quale limite massimo di spesa, sono ripartite annualmente con decreto del Presidente del Consiglio dei ministri, sentite le amministrazioni interessate.

3. Nei procedimenti davanti al giudice di pace è consentito l'uso della lingua ammessa a tutela. Restano ferme le disposizioni di cui all'articolo 109 del codice di procedura penale.

Art. 10

1. Nei comuni di cui all'articolo 3, in aggiunta ai toponimi ufficiali, i consigli comunali possono deliberare l'adozione di toponimi conformi alle tradizioni e agli usi locali.

Art. 11

1. I cittadini che fanno parte di una minoranza linguistica riconosciuta ai sensi degli articoli 2 e 3 e residenti nei comuni di cui al medesimo articolo 3, i cognomi o i nomi dei quali siano stati modificati prima della data di entrata in vigore della presente legge o ai quali sia stato impedito in passato di apporre il nome di battesimo nella lingua della minoranza, hanno diritto di ottenere, sulla base di adeguata documentazione, il ripristino degli stessi in forma originaria. Il ripristino del cognome ha effetto anche per i discendenti degli interessati che non siano maggiorenni o che, se maggiorenni, abbiano prestato il loro consenso.

2. Nei casi di cui al comma 1 la domanda deve indicare il nome o il cognome che si intende assumere ed è presentata al sindaco del comune di residenza del richiedente, il quale provvede d'ufficio a trasmetterla al prefetto, corredandola di un estratto dell'atto di nascita. Il prefetto, qualora ricorrano i presupposti previsti dal comma 1, emana il decreto di ripristino del nome o del cognome. Per i membri della stessa famiglia il prefetto può provvedere con un unico decreto. Nel caso di reiezione della domanda, il relativo provvedimento può essere impugnato, entro trenta giorni dalla comunicazione, con ricorso al Ministro di grazia e giustizia, che decide previo parere del Consiglio di Stato. Il procedimento è esente da spese e deve essere concluso entro novanta giorni dalla richiesta.

3. Gli uffici dello stato civile dei comuni interessati provvedono alle annotazioni conseguenti all'attuazione delle disposizioni di cui al presente articolo. Tutti gli altri registri, tutti gli elenchi e ruoli nominativi sono rettificati d'ufficio dal comune e dalle altre amministrazioni competenti.

Art. 12

1. Nella convenzione tra il Ministero delle comunicazioni e la società concessionaria del servizio pubblico radiotelevisivo e nel conseguente contratto di servizio sono assicurate condizioni per la tutela delle minoranze linguistiche nelle zone di appartenenza.

2. Le regioni interessate possono altresì stipulare apposite convenzioni con la società concessionaria del servizio pubblico radiotelevisivo per trasmissioni giornalistiche o programmi nelle lingue ammesse a tutela, nell'ambito delle programmazioni radiofoniche e televisive regionali della medesima società

concessionaria; per le stesse finalità le regioni possono stipulare appositi accordi con emittenti locali.

3. La tutela delle minoranze linguistiche nell'ambito del sistema delle comunicazioni di massa è di competenza dell'Autorità per le garanzie nelle comunicazioni di cui alla legge 31 luglio 1997, n. 249, fatte salve le funzioni di indirizzo della Commissione parlamentare per l'indirizzo generale e la vigilanza dei servizi radiotelevisivi.

Art. 13

1. Le regioni a statuto ordinario, nelle materie di loro competenza, adeguano la propria legislazione ai principi stabiliti dalla presente legge, fatte salve le disposizioni legislative regionali vigenti che prevedano condizioni più favorevoli per le minoranze linguistiche.

Art. 14

1. Nell'ambito delle proprie disponibilità di bilancio le regioni e le province in cui siano presenti i gruppi linguistici di cui all'articolo 2 nonché i comuni ricompresi nelle suddette province possono determinare, in base a criteri oggettivi, provvidenze per l'editoria, per gli organi di stampa e per le emittenti radiotelevisive a carattere privato che utilizzino una delle lingue ammesse a tutela, nonché per le associazioni riconosciute e radicate nel territorio che abbiano come finalità la salvaguardia delle minoranze linguistiche.

Art. 15

1. Oltre a quanto previsto dagli articoli 5, comma 1, e 9, comma 2, le spese sostenute dagli enti locali per l'assolvimento degli obblighi derivanti dalla presente legge sono poste a carico del bilancio statale entro il limite massimo complessivo annuo di lire 8.700.000.000 a decorrere dal 1999.

2. L'iscrizione nei bilanci degli enti locali delle previsioni di spesa per le esigenze di cui al comma 1 è subordinata alla previa ripartizione delle risorse di cui al medesimo comma 1 tra gli enti locali interessati, da effettuare con decreto del Presidente del Consiglio dei ministri.

3. L'erogazione delle somme ripartite ai sensi del comma 2 avviene sulla base di una appropriata rendicontazione, presentata dall'ente locale competente, con indicazione dei motivi dell'intervento e delle giustificazioni circa la congruità della spesa.

Art. 16

1. Le regioni e le province possono provvedere, a carico delle proprie disponibilità di bilancio, alla creazione di appositi istituti per la tutela delle tradizioni linguistiche e culturali delle popolazioni considerate dalla presente legge, ovvero favoriscono la costituzione di sezioni autonome delle istituzioni culturali locali già esistenti.

Art. 17

1. Le norme regolamentari di attuazione della presente legge sono adottate entro sei mesi dalla data di entrata in vigore della medesima, sentite le regioni interessate.

Art. 18

1. Nelle regioni a statuto speciale l'applicazione delle disposizioni più favorevoli previste dalla presente legge è disciplinata con norme di attuazione dei rispettivi statuti. Restano ferme le norme di tutela esistenti nelle medesime regioni a statuto speciale e nelle province autonome di Trento e di Bolzano.

2. Fino all'entrata in vigore delle norme di attuazione di cui al comma 1, nelle regioni a statuto speciale il cui ordinamento non preveda norme di tutela si applicano le disposizioni di cui alla presente legge.

Art. 19

1. La Repubblica promuove, nei modi e nelle forme che saranno di caso in caso previsti in apposite convenzioni e perseguendo condizioni di reciprocità con gli Stati esteri, lo sviluppo delle lingue e delle culture di cui all'articolo 2 diffuse all'estero, nei casi in cui i cittadini delle relative comunità abbiano mantenuto e sviluppato l'identità socio-culturale e linguistica d'origine.

2. Il Ministero degli affari esteri promuove le opportune intese con altri Stati, al fine di assicurare condizioni favorevoli per le comunità di lingua italiana presenti sul loro territorio e di diffondere all'estero la lingua e la cultura italiane. La Repubblica favorisce

la cooperazione transfrontaliera e interregionale anche nell'ambito dei programmi dell'Unione europea.

3. Il Governo presenta annualmente al Parlamento una relazione in merito allo stato di attuazione degli adempimenti previsti dal presente articolo.

Art. 20

1. All'onere derivante dall'attuazione della presente legge, valutato in lire 20.500.000.000 a decorrere dal 1999, si provvede mediante corrispondente riduzione delle proiezioni dello stanziamento iscritto, ai fini del bilancio triennale 1998-2000, nell'ambito dell'unità previsionale di base di parte corrente "Fondo speciale" dello stato di previsione del Ministero del tesoro, del bilancio e della programmazione economica per l'anno 1998, allo scopo parzialmente utilizzando, quanto a lire 18.500.000.000, l'accantonamento relativo alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri e, quanto a lire 2.000.000.000, l'accantonamento relativo al Ministero della pubblica istruzione.

Il Ministro del tesoro, del bilancio e della programmazione economica è autorizzato ad apportare, con propri decreti, le occorrenti variazioni di bilancio.

Art.1

Aspetti generali

1. Il presente regolamento è emanato ai sensi dell'art.17 della legge 15 dicembre 1999, n.482, in seguito denominata "legge".

2. Destinatari di detto regolamento sono i soggetti indicati dalla legge, fatto salvo quanto previsto dall'art.18, comma 1, della legge medesima. Ai sensi del secondo comma del medesimo articolo, fino all'entrata in vigore delle norme di attuazione degli statuti, le disposizioni del presente regolamento si applicano alle regioni a statuto speciale, se più favorevoli alla minoranza delle norme previste dai rispettivi statuti e ordinamenti.

3. L'ambito territoriale e subcomunale in cui si applicano le disposizioni di tutela di ciascuna minoranza linguistica storica previste dalla legge coincide con il territorio in cui la minoranza stessa è storicamente radicata e comunque in cui la lingua ammessa a tutela è la modalità di espressione di un numero di persone tale da giustificare l'adozione delle varie misure protettive e promozionali previste dalla legge. Entro novanta giorni dal ricevimento delle richieste avanzate dai soggetti di cui al comma 1 dell'art. 3 della legge, i consigli provinciali, sentiti i comuni, sono tenuti a pronunciarsi sulla delimitazione dell'ambito territoriale con atto motivato e nel rispetto dei principi generali stabiliti dagli organismi europei ed internazionali. Lo stesso termine decorre dalla comunicazione della avvenuta consultazione di cui al comma 2 dell'articolo 3 con la quale la popolazione residente nel comune si è pronunciata favorevolmente alla delimitazione territoriale in cui si applicano le disposizioni di tutela. La presenza si presume quando il comune, o parte di esso, sia incluso nella delimitazione territoriale operata da una legge statale o regionale anteriore all'entrata in vigore della legge e che si riferisca esclusivamente alle lingue ammesse a tutela dall'art. 2 della legge. Entro quindici giorni dalla adozione dei provvedimenti di delimitazione territoriale o di variazione di essa i presidenti dei consigli provinciali ne danno comunicazione alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri – Dipartimento per gli affari regionali – ed al Ministero dell'Interno – Ufficio Centrale per i problemi delle zone di confine e delle minoranze etniche, nonché alla Regione interessata.

4. Le minoranze linguistiche di cui all'articolo 2 della legge, nei casi previsti dall'articolo 3, comma 3, della legge medesima, entro quindici giorni dalla costituzione degli organismi di coordinamento e di proposta, ne danno comunicazione per il riconoscimento alle amministrazioni previste al comma 3 del presente articolo. Per gli organismi di coordinamento e di proposta di minoranze già istituiti, la comunicazione avviene entro il 31 dicembre 2000 [2001].

Art. 2

Uso della lingua delle minoranze nelle scuole materne elementari e secondarie di primo grado

1. Al fine di assicurare l'apprendimento della lingua ammessa a tutela nelle istituzioni scolastiche di cui all'articolo 4 della legge, il Ministero della pubblica istruzione, di concerto con il Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca Scientifica Tecnologica, entro un anno dall'entrata in vigore del presente regolamento e nell'ambito della propria autonomia e competenza indica i criteri generali per l'attuazione delle misure contenute nell'articolo 4 della legge.

2. Le istituzioni scolastiche di cui all'articolo 4 della legge, nell'ambito della propria autonomia, prevista dall'art. 21, commi 5,8,9,10 e 1 della legge 15 marzo 1997, n.59 e dei criteri di cui al comma 1, anche avvalendosi della collaborazione delle Università delle regioni interessate, possono avviare una fase di sperimentazione con l'attivazione di corsi di insegnamento di cui all'articolo 4 della legge, per una durata massima di tre anni a partire dall'avvenuta comunicazione da parte dei soggetti di cui al comma 1.

3. Dalla fase di sperimentazione di cui al precedente comma, possono essere escluse le istituzioni scolastiche che usino la lingua slovena nelle province di Trieste e Gorizia, ovvero quelle che già usino in via sperimentale una delle lingue ammesse a tutela.

Art. 3

Iniziative in ambito universitario a favore della lingua delle minoranze

1. Il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione e il Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca Scientifica e Tecnologica favoriranno le attività di ricerca, formazione, aggiornamento professionale ed educazione permanente a sostegno delle finalità della

legge prevedendo, nel rispetto dell'autonomia delle istituzioni universitarie e scolastiche delle regioni interessate, percorsi formativi specifici per insegnanti, interpreti e traduttori e l'attivazione di corsi universitari sulla lingua e la cultura delle minoranze di cui all'art.2 della legge. A tal fine, nel pieno rispetto dell'autonomia didattica delle istituzioni universitarie e delle istituzioni scolastiche delle regioni interessate, i suddetti Ministeri concorrono in sede di coordinamento interministeriale, entro un anno dall'adozione del presente Regolamento, a definire un quadro formativo di riferimento.

2. Le Università delle regioni interessate potranno avviare una fase di sperimentazione dei relativi corsi universitari per una durata massima di tre anni, a decorrere dalla data dell'avvenuta adozione da parte dei consigli provinciali delle delimitazioni territoriali di cui all'articolo 3, comma 1, della legge. Le specifiche modalità della sperimentazione, anche al fine di definire il quadro formativo di riferimento, potranno essere previste in appositi accordi di programma o in specifiche convenzioni con altre istituzioni.

3.. Dalla fase di sperimentazione di cui al precedente comma, possono essere escluse le Università che abbiano già istituito in via sperimentale o permanente corsi delle lingue ammesse a tutela.

Art. 4

Uso della lingua delle minoranze da parte dei membri dei consigli comunali,
comunità montane, province e regioni

1. Al fine di garantire l'immediata traduzione in lingua italiana, nei casi previsti dall'articolo 7, comma 3, della legge, l'ente locale o la regione debbono assicurare la presenza di personale interprete qualificato.

2. In materia di verbalizzazione si fa ricorso alle apposite disposizioni contenute negli statuti degli enti locali e nei regolamenti interni dei consigli regionali.

3. La presenza della condizione, di cui all'articolo 7, comma 2, della legge, deve risultare da apposite deliberazioni emanate dagli organi deliberanti delle comunità montane, delle province, e delle regioni.

Art. 5

Pubblicazione degli atti ufficiali dello Stato nella lingua ammessa a tutela

Le giunte comunali, nell'ambito dei territori individuati ai sensi dell'articolo 3 della legge, in seguito all'autorizzazione ricevuta, anche in sede di approvazione o di variazione del bilancio dai Consigli comunali per la pubblicazione nella lingua ammessa a tutela degli atti ufficiali dello Stato, delle regioni e degli enti locali nonché degli enti pubblici non territoriali, si avvarranno per la traduzione di tali atti di traduttori qualificati.

Art. 6

Uso orale e scritto delle lingue ammesse a tutela negli uffici delle pubbliche amministrazioni

1. In attuazione dell'articolo 9 della legge, gli uffici delle pubbliche amministrazioni, nei comuni di cui all'articolo 3 della legge medesima, istituiscono almeno uno sportello tu per i cittadini che utilizzano la lingua ammessa a tutela, e possono prevedere indicazioni scritte rivolte al pubblico, redatte, oltre che in lingua italiana, anche nella lingua ammessa a tutela, con pari dignità grafica.

2. Le amministrazioni pubbliche interessate valutano, anche di concerto e nel quadro di un programma di misure coordinate, sentite le istituzioni di cui all'art. 16 della Legge e nell'ambito dei criteri definiti ai sensi del comma 1 dell'articolo 8, l'opportunità di modulare gli interventi finanziari ed organizzativi secondo esigenze omogenee connesse alla tutela della lingua.

3. Gli uffici delle pubbliche amministrazioni di cui al comma 1, per le finalità di cui all'articolo 9, comma 2, della legge, possono anche stipulare convenzioni con istituti pubblici di ricerca e professionali, istituzioni scolastiche, università, ed altri soggetti istituzionali, al fine di reperire e formare personale in grado di rispondere alle esigenze previste dalla legge, ovvero consorziarsi tra loro per le medesime suindicate finalità.

4. Per gli atti aventi effetti giuridici ha efficacia solo il testo in lingua italiana. In attuazione dell'art. 9 della legge, gli enti locali possono, con norma statutaria e/o regolamentare, disciplinare l'uso scritto ed orale della lingua ammessa a tutela nelle rispettive amministrazioni/ Tutte le forme di pubblicità degli atti previsti da leggi sono effettuate in lingua italiana, ferma la possibilità di effettuarle anche nella lingua ammessa a tutela.

Art. 7

Riconoscimento del diritto al ripristino dei nomi originari

1. La documentazione da allegare alla domanda per il riconoscimento del diritto di cui all'articolo 11, comma 1, della legge, è quella prevista dalla normativa vigente che disciplina detta materia.

2. Il periodo di novanta giorni entro cui si deve concludere il procedimento con l'emanazione del provvedimento prefettizio di cui all'art.11, comma 2, della legge, si intende non comprensivo di eventuali impugnative e ricorsi avversi allo stesso.

Art. 8

Adempimenti

1. Entro il 15 febbraio di ogni anno il Ministro per gli affari regionali, sentito il Comitato consultivo istituito con proprio decreto il 17 marzo 2000, definisce con decreto i criteri per la ripartizione dei fondi previsti dagli articoli 9 e 15 della legge.

2. Le amministrazioni dello Stato debbono trasmettere, a pena di decadenza, entro il 30 giugno di ogni anno, alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri – Dipartimento per gli affari regionali – un programma dettagliato degli interventi relativi agli adempimenti previsti dall'articolo 9 della legge, quantificando contestualmente il fabbisogno di personale interprete.

3. Gli enti pubblici non economici a carattere nazionale, gli enti locali e le aziende sanitarie locali trasmettono, a pena di decadenza, alle regioni interessate per territorio e, per conoscenza, alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri – Dipartimento per gli affari regionali – entro il 30 giugno di ogni anno, un programma dettagliato degli interventi relativi agli adempimenti previsti dalla legge, quantificando contestualmente il fabbisogno di personale interprete.

4. Entro il 30 settembre le Regioni trasmettono alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri – Dipartimento per gli affari regionali – i programmi di cui al comma 3.

5. Entro il 31 ottobre con decreto del Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri, sentite le amministrazioni interessate, sono ripartite le somme previste dagli articoli 9 e 15 alla amministrazioni statali e alle Regioni, sulla base dei programmi presentati.

6. Entro la fine dell'anno la Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri provvede alla liquidazione delle somme spettanti alle Regioni, nonché al trasferimento alle stesse delle

somme spettanti agli altri soggetti di cui al comma 3 prelevate dai fondi di cui agli articoli 9 e 15.

7. Entro la fine dell'anno le Regioni provvedono a liquidare agli altri soggetti di cui al comma 3 le somme ad essi spettanti.

8. Il Ministro del Tesoro, con apposito decreto di variazione, provvede ad assegnare alle amministrazioni statali le somme alle stesse destinate riducendo in proporzione lo stanziamento dei capitoli iscritti sullo stato di previsione della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri – Dipartimento affari regionali.

9. La rendicontazione prevista dall'articolo 15, comma 3, della legge deve essere accompagnata da una relazione esplicativa dei motivi degli interventi che si intendono realizzare e di quelli attuati nell'anno precedente, ivi inclusi i risultati conseguiti.

10. L'applicazione dell'articolo 10 della legge è disciplinata da apposite disposizioni contenute negli statuti degli enti locali interessati.

Art. 9

Interpreti e traduttori

1. In materia di incarichi agli interpreti e traduttori, si applicano le vigenti disposizioni legislative e contrattuali, anche sotto il profilo del trattamento economico, che disciplinano il loro rapporto di lavoro.

Art. 10

Contratto di servizio con la società concessionaria del servizio pubblico radiotelevisivo.

1. Nell'ambito delle finalità di cui all'art. 12 della legge la convenzione tra il Ministero delle comunicazioni e la società concessionaria del servizio pubblico radiotelevisivo, nonché il conseguente contratto di servizio individuano, di preferenza nel territorio di appartenenza di ciascuna minoranza, la sede della società stessa cui sono attribuite le attività di tutela della minoranza.

2. La convenzione ed il contratto di servizio in corso vengono adeguati, in sede di prima attuazione a quanto previsto dal comma 1.

Art. 11

Comitato Tecnico Consultivo

1. Il Ministro per gli affari regionali ogni qual volta lo ritenga opportuno e, comunque almeno due volte l'anno, consulta, ai fini della applicazione della legge l'apposito Comitato Tecnico consultivo istituito con proprio decreto il 17 marzo 2000

Art. 12

Disposizione transitoria

Nella prima fase di applicazione del presente regolamento, la ripartizione dei fondi, di cui all'articolo 8, i termini di cui ai commi 2, 3 dell'articolo 8, sono rispettivamente fissati in tre mesi dalla data in entrata in vigore del presente regolamento; i termini di cui ai commi 4, 4, 6 dell'articolo 8 sono fissati rispettivamente in quattro, cinque e sei mesi dall'entrata in vigore del presente regolamento.

- Regional law 15/1997: *Tutela e valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale delle minoranze linguistiche nel Molise*

Art.1

Finalità della legge

1. La Regione Molise, in ossequio all' art. 6 della Costituzione che afferma che la " Repubblica tutela con apposite norme le minoranze linguistiche" ed in attuazione dei principi dell' art. 4 dello Statuto, d' intesa con i Comuni interessati e nell' ambito delle competenze di cui all' art 49 del DPR 24 luglio 1977, n. 616 - valorizza e promuove il patrimonio culturale delle minoranze linguistiche storicamente presenti nel territorio, quale elemento non secondario della cultura molisana.

2. A tal fine la Regione, di concerto con i comuni interessati, con i loro consorzi e con le Province, promuove e sostiene le iniziative di valorizzazione delle comunità molisane di origine croata ed albanese, riconoscendo che la protezione e la valorizzazione delle lingue minoritarie contribuiscono alla costruzione di un' Europa fondata sui principi della democrazia e del rispetto delle diversità culturali.

Art. 2

Interventi a favore di attività didattiche complementari

1. La Regione sostiene e finanzia i programmi di studio delle lingue croata ed albanese nelle scuole materne, elementari e medie dei Comuni in cui sono presenti le popolazioni alloglotte. Ove non fosse possibile inserire lo studio delle lingue croata ed albanese nel normale orario scolastico, sarà cura della Regione Molise collaborare con i Comuni, con i loro Consorzi e le Province interessate e che vengano organizzati dei corsi pomeridiani. Tali corsi si terranno nei locali delle scuole, previo assenso dell' autorità scolastica, o in altra sede idonea.

Art. 3

Contenuti ed organizzazione delle attività didattiche

1. Argomento dei corsi di cui all' articolo 2 sarà l' insegnamento della lingua croata ed albanese inteso come approfondimento della conoscenza dell' idioma parlato nei comuni molisani interessati dal fenomeno del bilinguismo. Sarà altresì finalità dei corsi il recupero delle tradizioni di queste comunità , nell' ambito di uno studio

multidisciplinare di carattere letterario, storico, geografico, musicale ed artistico. La programmazione degli insegnamenti dovrà tenere conto del diverso grado di scolarizzazione e di conoscenza della lingua croata o albanese. Per lo studio interdisciplinare della letteratura, della storia, della geografia, sarà possibile utilizzare insegnanti laureati in materie storico - letterarie nati nei comuni molisani nei quali è presente il fenomeno del bilinguismo, oppure insegnanti in possesso di un diploma magistrale, da impiegarsi nei corsi della scuola materna ed elementare.

Art. 4

Interventi di promozione culturale

La Regione promuove e sostiene sulla base di precisi indirizzi programmatici, iniziative culturali nelle seguenti

aree disciplinari ed artistiche:

a) studi, ricerche ed indagini sulla condizione linguistica delle comunità croate ed albanesi; creazione di una banca dati di testimonianze e materiali storici, archivistici, etnologici, folclorici; raccolta e compilazione di repertori linguistici croati e albanesi, redazione e pubblicazione di atlanti, carte ed altri documenti delle zone storiche, culturali e linguistiche; organizzazione di seminari, convegni, concorsi di poesia, premi letterari; attività di ricerca, sperimentazione e documentazione su problemi riguardanti la storia, l'economia, la società le tradizioni ed il patrimonio culturale, artistico e linguistico;

b) stampa e produzione di audiovisivi ed altri mezzi di comunicazione; edizioni di giornali e periodici in lingua croata e albanese per sviluppare e diffondere la conoscenza della storia, della lingua, della cultura e delle tradizioni dei gruppi linguistici minoritari; pubblicazioni di opere scientifiche e di divulgazione concernenti la cultura e la lingua croata ed albanese; attività informative e promozionali attraverso i mezzi di comunicazione sociale;

c) corsi di informazione ed aggiornamento degli insegnanti, concorsi tra gli alunni ed altre attività parascolastiche volte alla conoscenza della storia, della cultura, della lingua e delle tradizioni croata ed albanese;

d) allestimento ed organizzazione di spettacoli di teatro, musica e danza per la conoscenza e la diffusione del patrimonio culturale albanese e croato;

e) raccolta e studio dei toponimi nelle lingue croata ed albanese e delle relative pubblicazioni scientifiche, anche al fine di evidenziare, attraverso apposita segnaletica, la toponomastica originaria;

f) scambi culturali, soprattutto in ambito scolastico con altre comunità di lingua croata ed albanese in Italia ed all' estero.

Art. 5

Comitato per la valorizzazione culturale per la programmazione delle attività

1. Per la programmazione delle attività educative e culturali finalizzate alla valorizzazione delle comunità alloglotte, è istituito un Comitato composto da:

a) l'Assessore Regionale alla Cultura, o suo delegato;

b) il Provveditore agli Studi di Campobasso;

c) il Presidente dell' Amministrazione Provinciale di Campobasso;

d) i Sindaci dei Comuni di Acquaviva Collecroce, Campomarino, Montecilfone, Montemitro, Portocannone, S.Felice del Molise ed Ururi;

e) due esperti di chiara fama nelle discipline storiche, antropologiche e/ o linguistiche riferite alle culture croata ed albanese.

2. Il Comitato è nominato con decreto del Presidente della Giunta regionale e resta in carica per la durata della legislatura. I suoi poteri sono comunque prorogati fino all' insediamento del nuovo Comitato.

3. Le riunioni sono presiedute dall' Assessore Regionale o da un suo delegato.

4. La partecipazione alle sedute non dà diritto ad alcun compenso. Il rimborso delle spese per gli aventi diritto è a carico del bilancio regionale.

5. Le funzioni di segreteria del Comitato sono svolte da un funzionario dell' Assessorato alla Cultura di livello non inferiore alla VII qualifica funzionale.

6. Ai lavori del Comitato partecipano, senza diritto di voto, il dirigente del servizio, nonchè , su richiesta del Comitato, i funzionari responsabili delle procedure istruttorie delle iniziative sottoposte ad approvazione.

7. Il Comitato elabora la proposta di programma annuale delle attività educative e culturali per la valorizzazione delle comunità alloglotte sulla base di progetti elaborati

direttamente dalla Regione Molise o promossi in collaborazione con Istituti scolastici, Enti pubblici, Istituzioni, fondazioni, Associazioni e Cooperative culturali.

8. Il Comitato valuta le proposte ed i progetti pervenuti alla Regione tenendo conto delle disponibilità finanziarie, della produttività degli interventi distribuendo equamente le risorse tra le due comunità linguistiche.

Art. 6

Presentazione delle proposte

1. I Comuni, i loro Consorzi, le Province gli Enti e le associazioni operanti senza fini di lucro, che intendono promuovere singole iniziative o manifestazioni finalizzate agli obiettivi di cui alla presente legge, possono proporre relativi progetti entro il 30 novembre di ogni anno, all' Assessorato alla Cultura della Regione Molise.

2. I progetti, firmati dal legale rappresentante del soggetto richiedente, devono essere corredati da:

- a) una relazione illustrativa dell' iniziativa da realizzare;
- b) il preventivo di spesa per ogni singola iniziativa, con l' indicazione della prevedibile partecipazione finanziaria di altri enti o privati;
- c) eventuale relazione sulle attività culturali precedentemente svolte nel settore.

Art. 7

Programmazione degli interventi

1. Il Consiglio Regionale, sulla base della proposta predisposta dal Comitato, approva la programmazione annuale degli interventi.

2. Il finanziamento dei progetti inclusi nel programma annuale è disposto in due soluzioni:

- a) l' 80% in acconto, alla dichiarazione di conferma dell' intento di realizzare l' iniziativa proposta, rilasciata dal legale rappresentante del soggetto beneficiario entro 20 giorni dal ricevimento della comunicazione di concessione del contributo;
- b) il 20% a saldo, alla presentazione della relazione attestante l' attività svolta e dall' indicazione delle spese sostenute.

Art. 8

Obblighi dei beneficiari

1. La concessione dei contributi regionali comporta, per i beneficiari, l'obbligo di realizzare le attività sovvenzionate in modo sostanzialmente conforme a quanto indicato nella relazione e nel preventivo finanziario allegati alla domanda o alla proposta.

Art. 9

Regolarità contabile e vigilanza.

1. La Regione Molise può disporre forme di vigilanza ed ispezione attraverso le proprie strutture, in ordine alle attività ammesse a finanziamento ai sensi della presente legge. In particolare, essa verifica il corretto utilizzo dei contributi erogati, disponendo il recupero delle somme utilizzate in modo irregolare.

2. La segnalazione di eventuali irregolarità sarà fornita al Comitato Tecnico - Scientifico in sede di valutazione dei programmi presentati per le annualità successive al fine di valutare l'esclusione dei soggetti che se ne siano resi responsabili.

3. In caso di parziale realizzazione delle iniziative ammesse a contributo, l'Assessorato alla Cultura provvede alla revoca o al recupero parziale del contributo concesso.

Art. 10

Norma transitoria

1. Per le iniziative relative all'anno 1997, il termine di presentazione delle proposte di attività educative e culturali è stabilito nel 30 giorno dalla entrata in vigore della legge.

Art. 11

1. L'onere derivante dall'attuazione della presente legge quantificato per l'anno 1997 in L. 200.000.000, troverà copertura finanziaria con lo stesso provvedimento legislativo di approvazione del bilancio regionale per l'esercizio finanziario 1997.

Art. 12

Dichiarazione d'urgenza

La presente legge è dichiarata urgente ai sensi del secondo comma dell'art. 127 della Costituzione ed entra in vigore il giorno successivo a quello della sua pubblicazione

sul Bollettino della Regione. E' fatto obbligo a chiunque spetti di osservarla e farla osservare come legge della Regione Molise.

Appendix 2

Questionnaire

1. Informazioni generali

- 1.1. Nome
- 1.2. Sesso
- 1.3. Età
- 1.4. Luogo di nascita
- 1.5. Luogo di residenza

2. Conoscenza Arbëresh

- 2.1. Sai parlare l' Arbëresh?
 - 21..1. Se no, riesci a capirlo?

Questionnaire 0

1. Informazioni generali sul bambino

1.1. Nome

1.2. Sesso

1.3. Età

1.4. Luogo di nascita

1.5. Luogo di residenza

2. Conoscenza dell'Arbëresh

2.1. Sei capace di parlare l'Arbëresh?

2.1.1. Se no, riesci a capirlo?

Questionnaire I

1. Informazioni generali sul bambino

- 1.1. Nome
- 1.2. Sesso
- 1.3. Età
- 1.4. Luogo di nascita
- 1.5. Luogo di residenza
- 1.6. Classe
- 1.7. Hai parenti albanesi?

2. Informazioni generali sui genitori

- 2.1. Luogo di nascita
- 2.2. Luogo di residenza
- 2.3. Età
- 2.4. Sono capaci di parlare l'arbëresh?
 - 2.4.1.1. Se no, riescono a capirlo?
 - 2.4.1.2. Quale professione svolgono i tuoi genitori?

3. Informazioni generali sui nonni materni e paterni

- 3.1. Luogo di nascita
- 3.2. Età
- 3.3. Sono capaci di parlare l'arbëresh?
- 3.4. Se no, riescono a capirlo?

4. Conoscenza dell'italiano

- 4.1. Sei capace di parlare l'italiano?
 - 4.1.1. Se no, riesci a capirlo?
 - 4.1.2. Se sì
 - 4.1.2.1. Hai mai avuto problemi nel capirlo?
 - 4.1.2.2. E nel parlarlo?
 - 4.1.2.3. Hai mai scritto in Italiano?

- 4.1.2.4. Hai mai letto un libro/rivista/giornale in Italiano?
- 4.1.2.5. Hai mai ascoltato programmi radiofonici in Italiano?

5. Conoscenza dell'arbëresh

5.1. Sei capace di parlare l'arbëresh?

5.1.1. Se no, riesci a capirlo?

5.1.1.1. Riesci a capirlo?

5.1.2. Se si

- 5.1.2.1. Hai mai avuto problemi nel capirlo?
- 5.1.2.2. E nel parlarlo?
- 5.1.2.3. Hai mai scritto in arbëresh?
- 5.1.2.4. Hai mai letto un libro/rivista/giornale in arbëresh?
- 5.1.2.5. Hai mai ascoltato programmi radiofonici in arbëresh?
- 5.1.2.6. Da chi lo hai imparato?
- 5.1.2.7. Lo insegnerai ai tuoi figli?

6. Lingua Italiana e lingua arbëresh a confronto

6.1. Bilingue

6.1.1. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi genitori (valutazione da 1 a 10)

- 6.1.1.1. Italiano
- 6.1.1.2. Arbëresh

6.1.2. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi fratelli (valutazione da 1 a 10)

- 6.1.2.1. Italiano
- 6.1.2.2. Arbëresh

6.1.3. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi nonni (valutazione da 1 a 10)

- 6.1.3.1. Italiano
- 6.1.3.2. Arbëresh

6.1.4. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi insegnanti (valutazione da 1 a 10)

- 6.1.4.1. Italiano
- 6.1.4.2. Arbëresh

6.1.5. In quale lingua parli con i compagni di scuola (valutazione da 1 a 10)

6.1.5.1. Italiano

6.1.5.2. Arbëresh

6.1.6. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi amici di età differente (valutazione da 1 a 10)

6.1.6.1. Italiano

6.1.6.2. Arbëresh

7. Valutazione dell'arbëresh e identificazione con gli arbëreshë e con l'Albania

7.1. Bilingue

7.1.1. Sei contento di parlare arbëresh?

7.1.1.1. Se sì o no, perché?

7.2. Monolingue-Conoscenza passiva

7.2.1. Ti piacerebbe imparare l'arbëresh?

7.2.1.1. Se sì o no perché?

Questionnaire II

1. Informazioni generali

- 1.1. Nome
- 1.2. Sesso
- 1.3. Età
- 1.4. Luogo di nascita
- 1.5. Luogo di residenza
- 1.6. Religione
- 1.7. Stato civile
- 1.8. Origine arbëresh

2. Quale titolo di studio hai?

3. Quale professione svolgi?

4. Informazioni generali sui genitori

- 4.1. Luogo di nascita
- 4.2. Luogo di residenza
- 4.3. Età
- 4.4. Sono capaci di parlare l'arbëresh?
 - 4.4.1. Se no, riesce a capirlo?
- 4.5. Quale titolo di studio hanno?
- 4.6. Quale professione svolgono?

5. Informazioni generali sui nonni paterni e materni

- 5.1. Luogo di nascita
- 5.2. Luogo di residenza
- 5.3. Età
- 5.4. Sanno parlare l'arbëresh?
- 5.5. Se no, riescono a capirlo?

6. Conoscenza dell'italiano

- 6.1. Sei capace di parlare l'italiano?
 - 6.1.1. Se no, riesci a capirlo?
 - 6.1.2. Se si
 - 6.1.2.1. Hai mai avuto problemi nel capirlo?
 - 6.1.2.2. E nel parlarlo?
 - 6.1.2.3. Hai mai scritto in Italiano?
 - 6.1.2.4. Hai mai letto un libro/rivista/giornale in Italiano?
 - 6.1.2.5. Hai mai ascoltato programmi radiofonici in Italiano?

7. Conoscenza dell'arbëresh

7.1. Conosci l'arbëresh?

7.1.1. Se no, riesci a capirlo?

7.1.2. Se si,

7.1.2.1. Hai mai avuto problemi nel capirlo?

7.1.2.2. E nel parlarlo?

7.1.2.3. Hai mai letto un libro/giornale/rivista in arbëresh?

7.1.2.4. Hai mai ascoltato programmi radiofonici in arbëresh?

7.1.2.5. Hai mai scritto in arbëresh?

7.1.2.6. Da chi lo hai imparato?

7.1.2.7. Lo hai mai insegnato, oppure lo insegnerai ai tuoi figli?

8. Lingua italiana e lingua arbëresh a confronto

8.1. Bilingue

8.1.1. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi genitori (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.1.1. Italiano

8.1.1.2. Arbëresh

8.1.2. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi fratelli (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.2.1. Italiano

8.1.2.2. Arbëresh

8.1.3. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi nonni (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.3.1. Italiano

8.1.3.2. Arbëresh

8.1.4. In quale lingua parlavi con la tua insegnante della scuola elementare (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.4.1. Italiano

8.1.4.2. Arbëresh

8.1.5. In quale lingua parlavi con i tuoi amici di scuola alle elementari (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.5.1. Italiano

8.1.5.2. Arbëresh

8.1.6. In quale lingua parli con i tuoi amici di età differente (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.6.1. Italiano

8.1.6.2. Arbëresh

8.1.7. In quale lingua sogni? (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.7.1. Italiano

8.1.7.2. Arbëresh

8.1.8. In quale lingua conti mentalmente? (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.8.1. Italiano

8.1.8.2. Arbëresh

8.1.9. Quando parli della vita di tutti i giorni quale lingua usi? (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.9.1. Italiano

8.1.9.2. Arbëresh

8.1.10. Quando parli di agricoltura quale lingua usi? (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.10.1. Italiano

8.1.10.2. Arbëresh

8.1.11. Quando parli di sport quale lingua usi? (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.11.1. Italiano

8.1.11.2. Arbëresh

8.1.12. Quando parli di economia quale lingua usi? (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.12.1. Italiano

8.1.12.2. Arbëresh

8.1.13. Quando parli di politica quale lingua usi? (valutazione da 1 a 10)

8.1.13.1. Italiano

8.1.13.2. Arbëresh

8.2. Tutti

8.2.1. Qui a Campomarino/Ururi/Portocannone è più importante saper parlare:

Italiano	Arbëresh	Entrambi
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8.2.1.1. Italiano

8.2.1.1.1. Perché?

8.2.1.2. Arbëresh

8.2.1.2.1. Perché?

8.2.1.3. Entrambi

8.2.1.3.1. Perché?

9. Valutazione dell'arbëresh e identificazione con gli arbëreshë e con l'Albania

9.1. Bilingue

9.1.1. Sei contento di parlare arbëresh?

9.1.1.1. Se sì o no, perché?

9.2. Monolingue

9.2.1. Ti piacerebbe imparare l'arbëresh?

9.2.1.1. Se sì o no, perché?

10. Istruzione in Albanese

10.1. Se l'Albanese fosse inserito come materia di studio, saresti d'accordo?

10.1.1. Se sì o no, perché?

10.2. Se una parte degli insegnamenti fossero impartiti in Albanese e l'altra parte in Italiano, con un rotazione ciclica, saresti d'accordo?

10.2.1. Se sì o no, perché?

11. Validità dell'introduzione dello standard albanese in comunità arbëreshe

11.1. Bilingue

11.1.1. Quale lingua pensi di saper parlare?

Entrambi	Arbëresh	Albanese
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11.1.1.1. Entrambi

11.1.1.1.1. Perché?

11.1.1.2. Arbëresh

11.1.1.2.1. Perché?

11.1.1.3. Albanese

11.1.1.3.1. Perché?

11.1.2. Monolingue

11.1.2.1. Pensi che i bilingue parlino

Entrambi	Arbëresh	Albanese
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11.1.2.1.1. Entrambi

11.1.2.1.1.1. Perché?

11.1.2.1.2. Arbëresh

11.1.2.1.2.1. Perché?

11.1.2.1.3. Albanese

11.1.2.1.3.1. Perché?

Notes

Introduction

¹ “The Albanian of Italy does not overlap only with the language brought from overseas, but it has also developed in the host country. Besides ramifications of the original varieties, a mixture of different varieties, through the natural relations with neighbouring communities, occurred. Together with divergence, then, convergence has occurred”.

² The concept of diglossia was introduced by Ferguson who originally summarised it as follows: “Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation” (Ferguson 1959: 435). He proposed a classification of diglossic features: prestige – where the high variety (H) is seen as more elegant, superior and more logical than the low variety (L); literary heritage – a high variety has a history of literature and any literature written in the low variety is seen as a continuation of this “great tradition”; acquisition – for some, the high variety has to be taught while the low variety is learned within the home; standardisation – it is the high form of the language which is standardised – and as a result is provided with an alphabet, dictionaries, grammar books, pronunciation guides; stability – to some extent, high varieties provide stability from which low varieties can extend in a continuum of closeness to distance; grammar – in general the grammar of a low form will be more simple than that of the high form: most likely it will have fewer grammatical cases, less agreement requirements and fewer verb tenses; lexicon – mostly the vocabularies of high and low varieties are shared. Technical terms will most frequently be part of the high variety and not the low varieties, which will have words for the local (home and farming) objects; phonology – this feature recognises the different phonologies of the high and low varieties but suggests that there are underlying phonological similarities.

The meaning of the term was extended by Fishman (1967) to situations found in many societies where forms of two genetically unrelated (or at least historically distant) languages occupy the H and L niches, such that one of the languages is used for religious, educational, literacy and other such prestigious domains, while another language is rarely used for such purposes, being only employed for more informal, primarily spoken domains. He noted that “[B]ilingualism without diglossia tends to be transitional both in terms of the linguistic repertoires of speech communities as well as in terms of the speech varieties involved per se. Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separatism of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s)” (Fishman 1967: 36). Various scholars have proposed terminologies for a taxonomy of diglossias. For what here is referred to as “classical” (Ferguson 1959) and “extended” (Fishman 1967) diglossia, Kloss has proposed the terms “in-diglossia” (for the kind where the two varieties are closely related) and “out-diglossia” (for situations where the two languages are unrelated or at best distantly related) (Kloss 1966: 138.) Scotton (1986) proposed the terms “narrow” for Ferguson’s 1959 version of diglossia, and “broad” (or “diglossia extended”) to refer to Fishman’s expansion of the discussion. Following Scotton’s terminology, I will refer to broad diglossia, as a situation where two languages coexist in a speech community and the domains of linguistic behaviour are parcelled out in a kind of complementary distribution.

³ I will use the term “triglossia” as the coexistence of three languages which are in complementary distribution.

⁴ "The approval of a law concerning the introduction of Albanian in schools and in the media would be a real revolution which would change the speakers' [negative] attitudes towards the minority language and guaranteeing its vitality".

Charter I.1. Arbëresh presence in Italy

¹ "Together with other economic and social causes, the spirit of independence and freedom of the Albanian people was one of the reasons that pushed them to abandon their original places and to look for a new mother country overseas when Albania fell under Turkish dominion".

² "*Fiaccata dalle lotte fra Aragonesi ed Angioini, alimentate dalla cupidigia dei baroni inquieti e ribelli, nell'ultimo quarto del secolo XV la Calabria presentava vivi segni della decadenza civile ed economica, a cui non erano estranee cause di ordine naturale, come la pestilenza e il degradamento delle contrade, con relativo spopolamento [...]*" ("In the last quarter of the 15th century, Calabria, weakened by battles between Aragons and Angevins and characterised by the the restless and rebellious barons' greed, showed deep signs of civil and economic decline, partly due to natural causes like disease and the degradation of the countryside, with consequent depopulation") (De Leo 1981: 124).

³ "With the Albanian immigrations, Calabria and the south in general witnessed a new phase of demographic expansion, particularly at the end of the 1400 and continued through the first half of the 1500; together with it there was a strong recovery characterising the European economy (and that of Calabrian) between 1450 and 1550. And it is in this society, in great economic development but deprived of a workforce, that these nomadic populations found favourable conditions".

⁴ "The establishment of Albanian communities did not happen suddenly at the time of their immigrations (1400-1500), but is the result of a long and tortuous process characterised by passages in various centers, rapid building and rapid demolition of provisional settlements, their assimilation to Italian communities, a mixture on the Italian territory between Albanians of various origins and between Albanians and Italians".

⁵ "Instead of promoting studies, the Latin bishops of the dioceses where the Albanians settled had no other concern than abolish the Greek rite the Albanians were using. The result was endless battles, and mutual hostility".

⁶ Until the middle of the 16th century, these communities belonged to the Patriarchate of Ochrida in Macedonia, which considered Arbëresh under its ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For further discussion see Como 1982.

⁷ Particularly in Molise, in Puglia and in some communities of Basilicata and Calabria. With the regulation imposed by the Council of Trent and with the victory of the Counter-Reformation, there was an attempt to annul the Orthodox Episcopal jurisdiction. In 1564 with Pope Pius IV, on the basis of the regulations of *Breve Romanus Pontifex*, the Arbëresh came under the jurisdiction of the Latin Diocesan bishops, and in 1742 Benedict XIV, through the *Etsi Pastoralis*, claimed the priority of the Latin Rite over the Greek.

⁸ Under the papacies of Clement XI, who was of Albanian origin, and Clement XII, a new interest in Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition arose, and the College "Orsini" in San Benedetto Ullano and the Greek-Albanian Seminary in Sicily were established respectively in 1732 and in 1734. The former was transferred to San Demetrio Corone in the College "S. Adriano" in 1794. The birth of these two cultural centres was very important: firstly, it was possible to keep the Greek Rite in Italy, secondly they were the core part for the theological and cultural formation of the ecclesiastical and lay people of Albanian origin until the 19th century. With the establishment of the "Eparchia di Lungro" in 1919, which all Arbëresh communities belonged to, and the one in Piana degli Albanesi which Arbëresh groups of Sicilia belonged to, the maintenance of their linguistic, ethnic, spiritual and cultural tradition was guaranteed, particularly by the use of their language for liturgical purposes in the two dioceses after the Vatican II Ecumenical Council. For further discussion see Altimari 1983.

Chapter I.2. The sociolinguistics of the Arbëresh communities

¹ See Bopp 1854.

² See Meyer 1888.

³ See Pedersen 1894.

⁴ See Jokl 1935-6.

⁵ See Mayrhofer 1986: 168.

⁶ For a further discussion about Albanian as a Indo-European language see Demiraj 1984.

⁷ See Hamp 1966: 98.

⁸ See Demiraj 1988: 229.

⁹ "Si sa che non esiste una lingua arbëreshe comune. E quando adoperiamo la denominazione arbëreshe vogliamo soltanto indicare il gruppo di parlate albanesi ubicate nel territorio italiano. Non vi è un arbëreshe letterario comune a cui ricorrere, ad esempio, qualora si incontrino due italo-albanesi uno della Calabria e uno del Molise o della Sicilia. In questo caso ciascuno di essi userà la propria parlata, poiché le differenze tra quelle parlate non sono tante e così gravi da rendere impossibile la reciproca comprensione" ("It is well known that a common Arbëresh language does not exist. And when we use the label Arbëreshe we refer to the group of Albanian varieties present in Italy. There is neither a common literary Arbëreshe which, for example, can be used by two Italo-Albanians, one from Calabria and the other from Molise or Sicily. In this case each of them will use their own variety, since the differences between them are not so many or so deep as to make them mutual unintelligible") (Solano 1984: 13).

¹⁰ "Ma gli arbëreshë non hanno neppure una lingua letteraria (o scritta) comune. Gli scrittori arbëreshë, anche quelli di rilevante importanza letteraria hanno sempre adoperato la propria parlata locale, limitandosi soltanto ad accettare, in maggiore o minore misura, vocaboli e forme di altre parlate, non eluse quelle della madrepatria, e a creare più o meno felicemente, neologismi. Quando poi a poco a poco andò maturando l'idea della necessità di una lingua letteraria comune, si ebbero lodevoli tentativi per crearne una anche tra gli arbëreshë, con intenti di estenderla anche all'Albania (De Rada-Schirò) ma la meta non fu mai raggiunta, e mentre in Albania bene o male si arrivava ad avere una lingua letteraria, benché distinta in due varianti, ghego e tosko, tra gli italo-albanesi si continuava a scrivere nella propria parlata locale, oppure, ed era questa la via intrapresa dai migliori scrittori, si sforzava di avvicinarsi il più possibile alla variante letteraria tosca, la più prossima ed affine alle nostre parlate" ("But the Arbëreshë do not have a common literary (or written) language. Arbëreshë writers, even the most important ones, have always used their own local variety, limiting themselves only to accepting, more or less, words and forms from other varieties, not excluding words of the mother tongue, and to creating neologisms, with varying degrees of success. When a common literary language started being necessary, there were valuable attempts at creating one, with the intention of extending it also to Albania (De Rada-Schirò), but the goal was never attained, and while in Albania, a literary language was created, even though with two distinct variants, Gheg and Tosk, the Italo-Albanians continued writing in their own local variety, or they tried to use a language that could be similar to Tosk literary variety") (Solano 1984: 14).

¹¹ About the main basis of South-Tosk see Solano 1972, 1977, Çabej 1976, 1977, Tottoni 1980; about the phonological and morphological common traits between Tosk and Arbëresh see Haebler 1965 and Gjinari 1986.

¹² This is testified to by the presence in Arbëresh of traits common to Albanian of Greece. See Tsitsipis 1981.

¹³ About the influence of medium-Greek and neo-Greek on linguistic structures of Tosk type see Pellegrini 1977 and Banfi 1985.

¹⁴ See Bibbò 1973, Camaj 1973.

¹⁵ See Trudgill 1983.

¹⁶ "The Albanian of Italy does not overlap only with the language brought from overseas, but it has also developed in the host country. Besides ramifications of the original varieties, a mixture of different varieties, through the natural relations with neighbouring communities, occurred. Together with divergence, then, convergence has occurred".

¹⁷ "I distacchi più notevoli delle parlate arbëreshe dai dialetti delle madre patria si osservano principalmente nel lessico, un campo nel quale queste parlate hanno subito un influsso assai grande dall'italiano e dal greco. Ma si deve dire però che anche questi prestiti lessicali non sono riusciti a

cambiare in modo essenziale la struttura lessicale né delle parlate arbëreshe d'Italia, né delle parlate degli Arvaniti di Grecia. In tutte queste parlate è stato conservato bene il fondo principale del lessico albanese" ("The main differences between the Arbëreshe and the Albanian varieties are to be found particularly in the lexicon, a field where Arbëreshe varieties have been deeply influenced by Italian and Greek. But it should be said that these lexical borrowings have not deeply changed the lexical structure either of the Arbëreshe varieties of Italy, or of those of the Arvaniti of Greece. In all these varieties the main basis of the Albanian lexicon has been preserved") (Kostellari 1985: 170).

¹⁸ For details on the Italian words in Arbëresh lexis see: Landi & Del Puente 1990, Mihaescu 1978, Shkurtaj 1994. Today, particularly Italian loans from the world of culture, science, technology, and modern techniques are recognisable in the Arbëresh language.

¹⁹ The consonant and vowel system of standard Albanian is taken from Pellegrini 1995: 13-15.

²⁰ The consonant and vowel system of Arbëresh is taken from Altimari 1994: 241-248.

²¹ For further discussion see Shkurtaj 1994

²² *"Gli studi fatti sui dialetti dell'albanese in tutti i suoi territori in questi ultimi quarant'anni e soprattutto i dati raccolti per l'Atlante dialettologico della lingua albanese, confermano pienamente il fatto che durante l'evoluzione storica nessuna parlata o dialetto, compresi quelli della diaspora non ha raggiunto un tale distacco dal sistema della lingua nazionale tanto da assumere i tratti strutturali di una lingua a parte ..."* ("On the basis of the studies which have been carried out for forty years, it is possible to claim that no Arbëresh variety is different from the national language to the point that it can be considered to be a different language...") (Kostellari 1985: 168). For further discussion about this "unitary" position see Altimari 2003, Altimari & Savoia (eds) 1994, Guzzetta (ed) 1983, 1991.

²³ Data taken from Gambarara 1994.

²⁴ For further details check the web-site: www.uniud.it.

²⁵ "We have made Italy, now we should make Italians".

²⁶ "In 1951, when the post-war generation was learning to speak [Italian], only 18 Albanian communities out of 50 had a public venue (cinema or theatre), and only 13 had an inn or a hotel. The villages which had a national road were 10, and 2 had a railway station in the centre. Finally only 4 communities (Lungo, S. Demetrio, S. Giorgio, Spezzano) had an elementary school in their territory. 31.7% of the population of Calabria, 29.1% of Basilicata, 24% of Puglia, 22.8% of Campania, and 19% of Abruzzo and Molise were illiterates".

²⁷ "But the Arbyresh family has been in contact with other races and languages for centuries. Therefore it is understandable that in several Arbëresh communities, the families are forced to commit suicide in order to escape from this situation".

²⁸ For details see Veggiati 1983.

²⁹ For details see Altimari 1994.

³⁰ "If it is true that the Italo-Albanians acquire Italian language and culture during their studies, the same does not happen in the case of the Albanian language and culture. They remain illiterate of their own language".

³¹ "The cultural situation of the Italo-Albanians has been defined as a biculturalism which is unstable as their bilingualism, considered to be "lame", the more they learn Italian the more they lose their Albanian. For this reason, the increasing involvement in the dominant national culture can be seen as a dangerous loss of local autonomy or as a violation of a fundamental human right. This bilingualism is unstable precisely because, to put it in technical argon, the Italo-Albanian communities are "users" and not "speakers" of Italian".

Chapter I.3 Italian linguistic policy

¹ "The Republic protects minority languages with special forms of maintenance".

² "Norms concerning the protection of historical minority languages".

³ "The approval of a law concerning the introduction of Albanian in schools and in the media would be a real revolution which would change the speakers' [negative] attitudes towards the minority languages, guaranteeing its vitality".

⁴ "The only possible tool against assimilation is the teaching of Albanian language: in order that every Albanian could become a perfect bilingual. Together with Italian language and culture, he should possess Albanian language and culture".

⁵ "The teaching of Arbëresh would improve its vitality conditions, considering it to be a living and effectively spoken language, used as much as any other language within a social group".

⁶ The first legislative proposal dates back to the 1960s. In 1991 the proposal of law 612 about the maintenance and protection of minority languages was approved by the Chamber, but the final approval did not come due to the premature end of the legislature. Most of the content of this proposal was introduced in law 482 definitely approved in December 1999.

⁷ Before Law 482/1999, the application of the Constitutional provision was regulated only by various regional legislative measures. The difference among the regional legislative measures is due to the fact that in the Sixties the Italian Parliament, triggering a federalist process that is a matter of renewed political struggles still now, enacted norms about the legislative autonomy of the regions. The regions which, in different times and ways, emanated norms for the protection and maintenance of minority languages are Trentino-Alto Adige, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Val D'Aosta, Sardegna, Molise, Basilicata and Piemonte. For a general discussion about Italian linguistic policy before the passing of law 482/1999 see Ajello 1984, Bartole 1995 and Gusmani 1996.

⁸ For further discussion see Gusmani 2001, Savoia 2001 and Orioles 2003.

⁹ "*La lingua ufficiale della Repubblica è l'italiano*" ("The official language of the Republic is Italian") (art. 1 sub-section 1).

¹⁰ The Republic protects the language and culture of Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovene and Croatian populations, and those of people speaking French, Franco-Provençal, Friulan, Ladin, Occitan and Sard.

¹¹ "*Nelle scuole materne (...) l'educazione linguistica prevede, accanto all'uso della lingua italiana, anche l'uso della lingua della minoranza per lo svolgimento delle attività educative. Nelle scuole elementari e nelle scuole secondarie di primo grado è previsto l'uso anche della lingua della minoranza come strumento di insegnamento*" (Art. 4 sub-section 1). (In the primary schools (...) the minority language can be used for educational activities, together with Italian. In the elementary and intermediate schools, the minority language can be used as a medium of education (Art. 4 sub-section 1).

¹² "*(...) i membri dei consigli comunali e degli altri organi a struttura collegiale dell'amministrazione possono usare, nell'attività degli organismi medesimi, la lingua ammessa a tutela*" (In the councils and in other institutions the recognised minority languages can be used) (art. 7 sub-section 1).

¹³ "*(...) il consiglio comunale può provvedere (...) alla pubblicazione nella lingua ammessa a tutela di atti ufficiali dello Stato (...)*" (The councils can publish the official documents in the minority language (...)) (art. 8 sub-section 1).

¹⁴ "*(...) in aggiunta ai toponimi ufficiali, i consigli comunali possono deliberare l'adozione di toponimi conformi alle tradizioni e agli usi locali*" (Together with the official place-names, the councils can use place-names in the local language) (art. 10).

¹⁵ "*I cittadini che fanno parte di una minoranza linguistica riconosciuta (...) hanno diritto di ottenere, (...), il ripristino degli stessi [nome e cognome] in forma originaria (...)*" (Citizens who are members of a recognised linguistic minority (...) have the right to adopt, (...) [name and surname] in the original form (...)) (art. 11 sub-section 1).

¹⁶ "*Le regioni interessate possono altresì stipulare apposite convenzioni (...) per trasmissioni giornalistiche o programmi nelle lingue ammesse a tutela (...)*" (art. 12 sub-section 2). "*le regioni e le province in cui siano presenti i gruppi linguistici di cui all'articolo (...)*" (The regions can draw out a contract in order to broadcast news or other programmes in the protected language, (...)) (art. 12 sub-section 2).

¹⁷ The first problem posed by the law - the exclusion of several minorities present in Italy which are not considered "historical minorities" - is not considered here, because it goes beyond the purpose of this work.

¹⁸ See Gangale 1976, Famiglietti 1979, Candreva & Stamile 1979, Savoia 1994.

¹⁹ The language which is protected [by the State] is the way of speaking of the linguistic minority.

²⁰ See Solano 1994.

²¹ The language of the minority community [is that of] the original national community.

²² "Those common features - phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical - which are not present in the standard language and therefore are not normative, and which diachronically are shared by Arbëresh of Italy, Albanian and by Arbëresh of Greece, and, synchronically are shared by the two historical varieties of Albanian, particularly by Tosk, but sometimes also by Geg".

²³ The Piana community took immediate advantage of the favourable national and international situation after the law 482/1999 was passed. Taking advantage of European funding, members of the Councils of Palermo and Piana elaborated this three-stage project. The main goal of the first stage was the publication of a primary and secondary school textbook; during the second stage a guide for teachers and a high level grammar will be published; at the end of the third stage some Piana writers' works will appear.

²⁴ "In a group of seven boys and girls from Piana middle and high schools, none could understand the meaning of two non-conversational pieces chosen from the book" (Derhemi 2002: 19).

²⁵ "Historically, therefore, the concept of linguistic minority is not linked only to the existence of a marked linguistic specificity, but also to the existence of a standard of reference".

²⁶ "To recognise that the populations belong to a cultural and "national" context which is expressed by a standard different from the local variety".

Chapter I.4. Arbëresh communities in Molise

¹ See I.1.1.

² The most important document about the historical events in Molise after the Arbëresh arrival is the Bishop of Larino, Mons. Tria's work: "Memorie storiche, Civili ed Ecclesiastiche della Diocesi di Larino" of 1744. Regarding this theme, among the several folkloristic works, it is worth pointing out also Dilella 1972, Flocco 1985, Fiorilli 2002 and Giammiro 1994.

³ "In Molise Albanians, mainly peasants and shepherds, were originally organised in the area of Larino, in the territory of Civitella, and also at Guglionesi, later, for various reasons including religious ones, were sent to Portocannone, Ururi, Montecilfone, Campomarino and Chieuti".

⁴ The Arbëresh people were judged as "*irrequieti e turbolenti usi a inquietare i popoli, predare e commettere scelleraggini*" ("disruptive and turbulent practices for unsettling the people, preying and thieving upon them") (Tria 1744: 123).

⁵ Apart from Rother's survey, no sociolinguistic analysis about Arbëresh vitality was ever carried out in Molise. This is mostly due to the absence of research institutes in the region. The only sources of data are synchronic descriptions of particular linguistic aspects of Arbëresh spoken in Molise: Lamberts 1923-25, Breu 1991, 1993. The former analyses the phonological, morphological and syntactical systems of the Arbëresh spoken in Puglia and Molise. The latter describes the morphology of Arbëresh spoken in Montecilfone in "Il sistema verbale del dialetto arbresh di Montecilfone: la morfologia dell'indicativo" (1991), and in 1993 he analyses the contacts between Arbëresh and Croatian in "Italo-slavo e Italo-albanese nella zona di contatto linguistico in Molise".

⁶ See De Mauro 1983 for a detailed discussion of the linguistic situation in Italy after its unification.

⁷ In Molise the Croatian minority is present too.

⁸ "The Molise Region promotes the cultural heritage of the historical linguistic minorities present in the territory, as not a secondary element of Molise culture" Art. 1 of the regional law 15/1997.

⁹ "The Region supports and finances programmes in Croatian and Albanian languages in nursery, elementary and intermediate schools of the territory where the alloglottal populations are present. Where it is not possible to include the teaching of Croatian and Albanian into the normal school timetable, after school courses will be organised. (...)" Art. 2 of the regional law 15/1997.

¹⁰ The journal was first published in 1996, and with the approval of the regional law it had the necessary financial support.

¹¹ The National funds are regulated by three Ministerial circulars n. 89, 90 and 69.

¹² Personal communication.

Chapter II. 1 Language death

¹ In English, the term "minority language" is usually understood as a language which is underprivileged in relation to another, dominant language of the same community, whereas in other scholarly and political traditions the term minority language refers to a language which is used only by a small part of the population of the polity (Kloss 1969). In the present study "minority language"

is taken in both senses, since language death is threatening only numerically inferior languages, which are underprivileged at the same time.

² In the final official document of the International Linguistics Congress which took place in Quebec in 1992 it was stated: "As the disappearance of any one language constitutes an irretrievable loss to mankind, it is for UNESCO a task of great urgency to respond to this situation by promoting and, if possible, sponsoring programs of linguistic organizations for the description in the form of grammars, dictionaries and texts, including the recording of oral literatures, of hitherto unstudied or inadequately documented endangered languages". The proposal was welcomed by UNESCO, which supported its first project on endangered languages in 1993. Several important events followed: in 1995 the International Clearing House for Endangered Languages was initiated at the University of Tokyo, and the same year an Endangered Language Fund was founded in America and in the United Kingdom the Foundation for Endangered Languages was established.

³ On simplification processes of a phonological nature see Dressler 1972, Rankin 1978, of a morphophonological one see Dorian 1977a, of a morphological one see Dorian 1978a and Dressler 1977, of syntactic nature see Dorian 1973, 1977, 1978c, Hill 1973, Kieffer 1977; Trudgill 1976-1977, Voegelin and Voegelin 1977.

⁴ See Trudgill 1977 and Dorian 1978b.

⁵ See Voegelin and Voegelin 1977.

⁶ Representative scholarship can be found in Brenzinger 1992, Dorian 1989, Fase, Jaspaert and Kroon 1992, 1995, Hinton 1994, and Robins and Uhlenbeck 1991. As the analysis of linguistic minorities in Italy from the perspective of their decline and death see Dal Negro 1999, Giocosa 2001, Marra 2000 and Zamboni, Del Puente, Vigolo (eds) 2001.

⁷ This endangered language was closely analysed by Dorian particularly in her work of 1981.

⁸ Arvanitika language was studied particularly by Sasse 1991 and by Tsitsipis 1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1998.

⁹ In GAM model Sasse presents the dynamics taking place in a gradual language death process. In an attempt at typological classification, Campbell and Muntzel (1989), besides the process of gradual death, distinguishes: a) sudden death: a language suddenly dies for lack of speakers, often due to genocide, therefore, from a structural point of view the language does not undergo any process of change; b) radical death: a kind of sudden death due to a violent repression as well, but in this case the speakers choose to abandon the language as a strategy of self-defense. In the types of death outlined above the process is not characterised by a linguistic *continuum* as in the case of gradual death; c) bottom-to-top death: in this typology the language is abandoned in formal and even informal situation, even though it is kept in religious situation. This type of death is defined by Hill (1983) "latinate pattern".

¹⁰ On the basis of the data available, Sasse (1992) observes these factors give birth to an implicational chain: external setting phenomena induce a certain type of speech behaviour producing internal changes in the linguistic structure.

¹¹ In his sociolinguistic study on Arvanitika, Sasse notes that the attitude towards the language may be irregular: some speakers had a positive attitude related to its role as symbol of group identity, but it becomes negative considering all the other linguistic functions.

¹² To be precise there is no area in Sutherland which is officially known as East Sutherland. The label is in use among the residents of the county of Sutherland to designate an eastern coastal area which is historically and linguistically part of Machair-Chat. As Dorian herself proved (1978a: 145-47) there was a distinction between the Gaelic of the agricultural population and that of the fishing population, and since only the latter survives, it is being assigned the label "East Sutherland Gaelic" by default. Then, the variety she deals with is "the Gaelic of the fisherfolk of central eastern coastal Sutherland and their descendants".

¹³ As the language dies a group of imperfect speakers appears due to either insufficient exposure to the home language; or to exposure to another language, so that if they continue using the home language they use it in a form which is markedly different from that of the fluent speaker, since they have a reduced linguistic system. Moreover, there are other two factors which count for the emergence of semi-speakers: 1. in the fishing communities due to strong cross generational ties outside the family, a number of semi-speakers appeared thanks to a strong attachment to some kinsperson, even when the parents did not want to pass Gaelic on to the children; 2. A period away from the home community can produce an allegiance to one's own community which may take the form of language loyalty. "They are not fully proficient in Gaelic. They speak it with varying degrees of less than full fluency,

and their grammar (and usually also their phonology is markedly aberrant in terms of the fluent-speaker norm. Semi-speakers may be distinguished from fully fluent speakers of any age by the presence of their deviation in their Gaelic which are explicitly labeled “mistakes” by the fully fluent speakers” (Dorian 1981:108).

¹⁴ Their level of speech competence is similar to that of Dorian’s semi-speakers: they “are characterised by substantial losses in their productive competence in Arvanitika phonology, lexicon and grammar, and by speech repertoire restrictions” (Tsitsipis 1983: 291). The reason why Tsitsipis prefers the label “terminal speaker” to the more common “semi-speaker” is due to the fact that the speakers interviewed by him differs from Dorian’s semi-speakers in showing a lower degree of competence in Arvanitika together with deeper form of passive bilingualism.

¹⁵ As Tsitsipis states, “we must avoid reductive explanatory schemes that tend to attribute linguistic obsolescence monastically to advances in capitalist economy” (Tsitsipis 1998: 10). This view was explicitly accepted by Dressler too (Dressler 1988: 190-1).

¹⁶ The term heteroglossia translates the Russian *raznorecie* (“multilingualness”), a term coined by Bakhtin (1981, originally written in 1934-5). The term alludes to the multiplicity of languages within the apparent unity of any national language. However, it should not be confused with a simple celebration of linguistic diversity, for the term alludes not only to the co-existence of “languages” within a language, but their co-existence in a state of tension and competition. In particular, it alludes to the tension between those forces within a national language which are pulling it towards a standard central version, and those forces which are tugging away from the national standard towards the demotic or the dialectal. Any utterance exists at the intersection of these centripetal and centrifugal forces, and positions itself in relation to them. Tsitsipis uses this term to refer to the situation of conflict among Arvanitika and Greek.

¹⁷ After the protestant reformation, by the 1570s, Oberwart, together with other villages in Western Hungary, became Protestant, remaining the only Calvinist community even after the Counter-Reformation because of Oberwart’s refusal to counter reform. Oberwart remained mostly Calvinist: they were given the permission to build a church and school, but creating a division within the Hungarian speaking community between the Calvinist and the Catholic

Charter II.3. Language revitalization and shift reversal

¹ The first work which deals with the topic of language revitalization was Ellis & mac a’Ghobhainn 1971, other important contributions are: Benton 1986, Brandt & Ayoungman 1988, Fishman 1991, Hinton 1994, 1998, Hornberger (ed) 1996, Cantoni 1996, Reyner 1997, Pyöli 1998, Reyner *et al.* 1999 Pyöli 1998, Grenoble & Whaley (eds) 1998a, Huss 1999, Henze & Davis (eds) 1999, King 2001 and Hale & Hinton (eds) 2001.

² See Ladefoged 1992 and Dorian 1993.

³ In Fishman’s terminology X refers to the minority or threatened language.

⁴ In Fishman’s terminology Y refers to the majority or dominant language.

⁵ This term was firstly used by Haugen (1959) applying it to language standardization process in Norway.

⁶ The distinction between status planning and corpus planning was introduced by Kloss (1969).

⁷ A term introduced by Cooper (1989), according to whom several language planning efforts, focusing either on the spread of a language, or on users, go outside the scope of status and corpus planning.

⁸ Language revitalization efforts may be based on different types of framework for language planning: from Haugen’s classic model (1983), to Cooper’s (1989) and Hornberger’s (1994).

Chapter III.1. Pilot study

¹ The captions regarding the Campomarino pilot study are labelled by C.p.: C. stands for Campomarino, p. stands for pilot study.

² The captions regarding the Portocannone pilot study are labelled by P.p.: P. stands for Portocannone, p. stands for pilot study.

³ The captions regarding the Ururi pilot study are labelled by U.p.: U. stands for Ururi, p. stands for pilot study.

⁴ According to the census of 2001, Campomarino has 6758 citizens, up from 3076 in 1966.

Chapter III.2 Main study

¹ According to this statistics field, the results of a pilot study on a small population might be proportional to a larger population.

² In this view, the formula $n = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^k w_i \frac{N_i p_i (1 - p_i)}{N_i - 1}}{\left(\frac{\Delta}{z_{\alpha}}\right)^2 + \sum_{i=1}^k w_i^2 \frac{p_i (1 - p_i)}{N_i - 1}}$ was used, with the following

parameters:

z_{α} = the standardised normal variable, or standard score, expresses the deviation of any given attribute of a normally distributed population from its mean, and it is expressed as a multiple of its standard deviation, $z = \frac{x - \bar{x}}{\sigma}$. This critical value is 1.96 for a 95% confidence level and Δ stands

for the maximum error the results may have within the confidence limits, set equal to 5%. (Di Basilio 1990: 244-245).

³ Subjects from the nursery are included in the class of students.

⁴ In the case of subjects who were given the questionnaire 0 and I, they were asked to give only general information on their parents and grandparents. In order to use these independent variables in the analysis of the data, it was possible to extract them from their parents and grandparents' interviews.

⁵ Sector I refers to occupations related to agriculture, sector II refers to occupations in manufacturing, sector III refers to occupations in services.

Chapter III. 3. Campomarino results

¹ The captions regarding the Campomarino survey are labelled by C. which stands for Campoarino.

² In order to run the regression the dependent variable must have at least three coefficients.

³ As discussed before subjects from 3 to 5 years old, in this case 1 informant, are not included in this survey. For further details see Appendix 2.

⁴ As discussed before subjects from 3 to 10 years old, that is 2 informants, were not asked their opinion on the introduction of standard Albanian in the school either as a school subject or as an educational medium. For further details see Appendix 2.

⁵ As discussed before subjects from 3 to 10 years old, that is 2 informants, are not included in this survey. For further details see Appendix 2.

Chapter III.4. Portocannone results

¹ The captions regarding the Portocannone survey are labelled by P. which stands for Portocannone

¹ As discussed above subjects from 3 to 10 years old, that is 8 informants are not included in this survey. For further details see Appendix 2.

² As discussed before subjects from 3 to 5 years old, that is 3 informants, are not included in this survey. For further details see Appendix 2.

³ As discussed before subjects from 3 to 10 years old, that is 8 informants, were not asked their opinion on the introduction of standard Albanian in the school either as a school subject or as an educational medium. For further details see Appendix 2.

⁴ As discussed before subjects from 3 to 10 years old, that is 8 informants are not included in this survey. For further details see Appendix 2.

Chapter III.5. Ururi results

¹ The captions regarding the Ururi survey are labelled by U. which stands for Ururi.

¹ As discussed above subjects from 3 to 10 years old, that is 7 informants are not included in this survey. For further details see Appendix 2.

² As was discussed before subjects from 3 to 5 years old, that is 3 informants, are not included in this survey. For further details see Appendix 2.

³ As discussed before subjects from 3 to 10 years old, that is 7 informants, were not asked their opinion on the introduction of standard Albanian in the school either as a school subject or as an educational medium. For further details see Appendix 2.

⁴ As discussed above subjects from 3 to 10 years old, that is 7 informants are not included in this survey. For further details see Appendix 2.

Chapter IV.2. Attitudes

¹ Data taken from Italian *Ministry of the Interior*.

² It is worth noting that different politically oriented newspapers reported the events by the same alarmist rhetoric.

Chapter IV.3. Language death and shift reversal

¹ See I.3.2.

² Since the initial proposal of law 482/1999 scholars have tried to find an agreement about the variety to be used, i.e. standard vs local variety, including attempts of standardisation of the local variety. For an overview of the problem see Gusmani 1996, 2001, Orioles 2003, (ed) 2003 and Savoia 2001.